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Edited by

GOPĪ NĀTHA KAVIRĀJA

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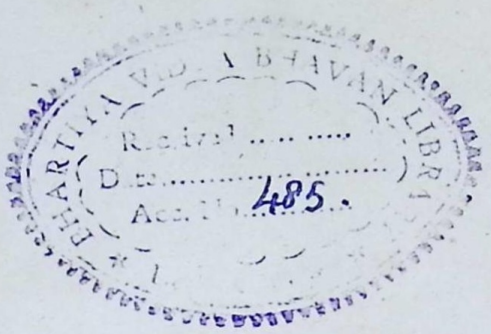

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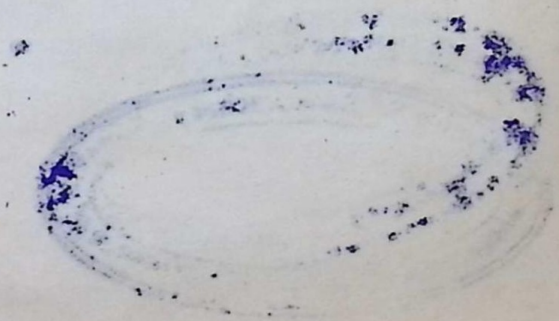

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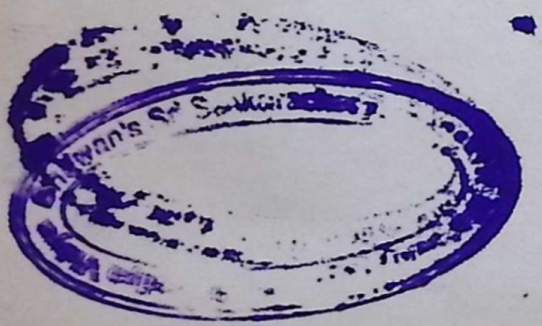

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I.—BHĀMAHA AND HIS KĀVYĀLANKĀRA.

By Batuk Nath Sarma and Baldeva Upādhyāya.

Preliminary.

In every age, in every clime, the importance of an author is weighed on the scales of utility by the coming posterity. Plato and Aristotle command no inconsiderable recognition and deference even now—in the age which has seen cultural progress in almost all directions. This is so, not only for the reason that their works were of the highest order, but also because they were made much use of by the generations coming after them. So it seems that in order to gauge the merits of a particular author we should betake ourselves to the consideration of the kind of fame which that author has had the good fortune to call his own.

Importance of भामह

Let us now turn to our own author and see whether he can stand the test successfully. Even a desultory student of Sanskrit Poetics can bear testimony to the fact that there are a few famous names of old eminent authors which no later writer on the subject could afford to ignore without sacrificing his own high ambition of celebrity. One of these such names is indeed that of भामह. As far as we know, there is no important work on Poetics which does not refer to भामह and his work in some way or other. His work has been very frequently drawn upon for quotations by almost all the important writers of Sanskrit Poetics. There are some who have even borrowed from his works 'matter' and sometimes phraseology. In the body of discussions he has been referred to as an authority of necessary recognition. Even those who could not manage to agree with him on certain points have shown due deference to his views. He has been commanding this respect from Sanskrit poets and poeticians, not for a century

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or two, but for a very large number of centuries. The name which seems to have been most associated with the science of poetics from its early infancy (with the only exception of भरत) is that of भामह. He is indeed the oldest आलङ्कारिक and in fact one of the most authoritative ones whose work has come down to us.

Not only the old writers of India have had much to do with भामह and his work, even the modern scholars of vast erudition and wide reputation, have been attracted towards him. There was a time when a regular warfare was going on, with regard to the date and personality of भामह, among some of the leaders of Oriental Research in India, in which some western scholars of note also took part. Though nothing perfectly quite definite was arrived at, still much was written which shed new light on some obscure corners of historical investigation.

A Brief Survey of Discussions on भामह

It would not be out of place to take here a very brief survey of the various problems raised and discussed with regard to भामह along with the conclusion reached by way of their solutions. Though, as noted above, भामह's name was to be heard everywhere among scholars, his work was not at first available anywhere. Bühler, not finding any trace of भामह's work, inferred, with the inevitable disappointment of a real scholar, that the work had been lost for over.[1] In 1880, however, a MS of the work came to the notice of Gustav Oppert but we could not know much from his description.[2] In his memorable list of works on Sanskrit Poetics, Jacob noted the काव्यालङ्कार of भामह also,[3] but even this mention

1. Bühler's Kāśhmir Report, 1877.
2. List of Sanskrit MSS. in private Libraries of Southern India, Vol. I. No. 3731.
3. J. R. A. S. 1897-8.

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was not of much use. In the edition of a certain Kanarese work[1] on Poetics, Mr. K. B. Pathak also took notice of this work but it was only in passing and had nothing directly to do with it. The first person to give publicity to भामह's work and to make definite statements about him, was R. Narsimhachar of Bangalore. In the Introduction to his edition of a Kannada work[2] on Poetics he observed—"Next to him (Bhārata) in point of time, comes Bhāmaha whose priority to Daṇḍin is proved by the latter criticising his views in the first chapter of Kāvyādarśa. He is one of the greatest authorities on Poetics, his view being quoted by almost all the subsequent writers of note on the subject.....Prof. Rangacharya M.A. of the Madras Presidency College has had the good fortune to come upon the manuscript of the valuable and long-sought-after work.....The work bears no date but the author probably belongs to the early part of the 6th century." But as this was written in the Introduction of a Kannada work, it could not naturally come to the notice of most of the Sanskrit scholars.

It was only when Mr. M. T. Narsinhiengar wrote an article on भामह that the attention of Sanskrit scholars was drawn towards the great rhetorician[3]. Mr. Narsimhiengar raised almost all those issues which engaged the attention of Indologists for a long time later on. He thought that भामह was a Buddhist and flourished after दण्डी. Dr. Barnett, in that very year, wrote a note, supporting Mr. Narsimhiengar that भामह belonged to the first half of the 8th century[4]. Mr. P. V. Kāṇe tried to refute

1. कविराजमार्ग edt. by K. B. Pathak, 1898.
2. काव्यावलोकनम् by नागवर्मा, edt. by R. Narsimhachar, 1903.
3. J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 535 ff.
4. J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 841.

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Mr. Narsimhiengar's hypothesis that भामह was a Buddhist, but as regards his date, he agreed with him[1] In 1909 विद्यानाथ's प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण was published by Mr. K. P. Trivedi in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. In an 'Appendix' to this work, भामह's काव्यालङ्कार appeared in print for the first time. Mr. Trivedi, in his learned Introduction, dealt with many questions in connection with भामह. His arguments were mainly directed against the views of Mr. Narsimhiengar. Dr. Jacobi[2] and Prof. Rangacharya[3] in 1910 and Mr. Anantacharya[4] in 1911 joined issue and mainly agreed with Mr. Trivedi. Mr. R. Narsimhachar (the first person to give publicity to the discovery of भामह's work) added some new arguments to those already advanced in favour of the priority of भामह to दण्डी. [5]In the same year Mr. K. B. Pathak tried in a learned paper to refute many of the arguments put forward against him[6]. But his refutations, as shown by Mr. Trivedi the very next year, were as unconvincing as they were learned[7]. This paper of Mr. Trivedi seems to have silenced his opponents, and for a number of years nothing new was added to this important discussion. In 1922, Dr. Jacobi, with his characteristic insight in all matters connected with Indology, suggested a new line of approach to the determination of भामह's date (as did also Mr. P. V. Kane, quite independently of Dr. Jacobi). He tried to prove that भामह had borrowed much from धर्मकीर्ति and that consequently he must be

1. J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 543.
2. Z. D. M. G., 1910.
3. Introduction to काव्यादर्श, 1910.
4. Brahmavadin, 1911.
5. Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 90 ff.
6. Int. Ant., 1912, p. 232 ff.
7. Ind. Ant., 1913.

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placed after him[1]. To many this view appeared to be the last word in the discussion on the date of भामह. Dr. De[2] and others[3] seem to have followed in the foot-steps of Jacobi.

The last few years have seen a marked progress towards the study of Sanskrit Poetics and a few very valuable works have appeared on the subject. Mr. P. V. Kane deserves all praise for his intensive study and extensive researches[4]. Dr. S. K. De also is entitled to an especial mention. He has rendered a valuable service to the cause of the study of the History of Sanskrit Poetics by his useful work[5]. Dr. Nobel's recently published book[6] and Mr. B. N. Bhattacharya's paper[7] are also not to be lost sight of.

In spite of so much writing, no attempt has so far been made to see if it is possible to throw any new light on the subject nor even to sum up in one place all that has been written before. भामह's work itself has till now been lying in a neglected condition in an obscure corner of प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण।

An attempt is, therefore, being made here to present within the limits of a brief paper every information hitherto available regarding भामह and his work, and in course of this presentation, to examine critically the current theories and to see if any of them is compatible with the date

1. Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 211–12.
2. History of Sanskrit Poeties, Vol. 1, p. 48.
3. Nobel.—Foundations of Indian Poetry, p. 17.
4. Introduction to his edition of साहित्यदर्पण, Bombay, 1923.
5. History of Sanskrit Poetries, 2 Vols., 1923.
6. Foundations of Indian Poetry, Calcutta, 1925.
7. Calcutta Journal of Letters, Vol. IX.

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recently brought to light. It is to be earnestly hoped that this humble attempt on our part will again remind the veteran scholars of their old friend **भामह** and will probably help to create for them a new interest in him.

भामह—WHO AND WHAT HE WAS

We know very little with regard to **भामह** except what we find revealed in his **काव्यालङ्कार**. Tradition says that he was a Kashmirian, and this is believed in by Bühler[1] and others[2]. There is no reason to disbelieve it even though we have no reasonable evidence—external or internal—to prove it beyond doubt. From the last śloka[3] of his **काव्यालङ्कार**, we learn that his name was **भामह** and that he was the son of **रक्किलगोमिन्**. The word **रक्किल**, which bears phonetic resemblance to **राहुल, पोत्तल, सोमिल** and similar other Buddhist names, is alleged to suggest Buddhistic associations; and this suggestion would seem to gain strength from a consideration of the term **गोमिन्** which is reminiscent of the name of one of Buddha's disciples[4]. Mr. Pathak has shown that the word **गोमिन्** used to carry with it an idea of reverence[5]. He refers to a sutra of the **चान्द्रव्याकरण**[6] where the word is expressly stated to convey such a sense. Moreover, the word **सार्वसर्वज्ञ** which occurs in the opening śloka[7] of **भामह**'s work,

1. Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. 64.
2. Narsimhachar in his Introduction to नागवर्मा's काव्यावलोकनम् Ind. Ant., 1912.
   Krishnamacharya : History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.
3. अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनामवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।
   सुजनावगमाय भामहेन ग्रथितं रक्किलगोमिसूनुनेदम् ॥ काव्या० VI,64.
4. J. R. A. S., 1905
5. Ind. Ant., 1912.
6. 'गोमिन् पूज्ये', 4. II. 144.
7. प्रणम्य सार्वं सर्वज्ञं मनोवाक्कायकर्मभिः ।
   काव्यालङ्कार इत्येष यथाबुद्धि वधास्यते ॥ काव्या-I. I.

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cannot but point, so it is said, to the Buddha himself. The word **सार्व** in its derivative meaning stands quite in correspondence with the doctrine of universal love taught by Buddha. **हेमचन्द्र**[1] gives **सार्व** as one of the names of **जिन. जिनदेवमुनीश्वर**[2] does exactly the same thing, except that he adds to the list of the synonyms the name **सर्वीय**. In view of the well known fact that several Buddhist names were adopted by the Jains, one might feel justified in inferring from these Jain references that **सार्व** was originally an epithet of the Buddha. The use of the word **सर्वज्ञ** for Buddha[3] is, of course, well known.

Now taking these points into consideration, we may at once confess that the arguments, stated above for proving **भामह** to be a Buddhist, do not by themselves stand on a very firm ground. As says Mr. Kāṇe, there is not much in a name.[4] When the Hindus and the Buddhists had been living in the same country for centuries and centuries together, there is no wonder if one borrowed the name of the other. When this fact is found to be possible even in the case of such heterogenous peoples as the Hindus and the Mahomedans, it is even more possible in the case of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Moreover, we are to remember that Buddha himself had come to be recognised as an **अवतार** of **विष्णु**, certainly before the 11th century. With Trivedi, we may add that the word **गोमिन्** is not exclusively used for the Buddhists. It is explained by the **नैघण्टुक**s as a contraction of **गोस्वामिन्**. It is a caste designation added after the names of the Brāhmaṇas

1. अभिधान चिन्तामणि, I,1, 25.
2. अभिधान चिन्ताशिलोञ्छ.
3. सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धः—अमरकोश
4. Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XVIII.

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throughout Kashmir and Northern India and corresponds to the **आचार्य** of the South.[1]

An author's religion may perhaps be judged from the contents of his book, but not from his name. In the whole of **काव्यालङ्कार** there is nothing peculiarly Buddhistic, nor is there any reference to the incidents of Buddha's life or to any purely Buddhistic legends. The first verse, no doubt, salutes **सार्व सर्वज्ञ** but the appellation **सार्व** simply means **सर्वस्मै हित**[2] and is not given by any lexicographer as meaning Buddha exclusively. The word **सर्वज्ञ** is found in lexicons standing for Buddha as well as for Śiva[3]. **कुमारिल** in his **श्लोकवार्तिक** devotes a long section to the refutation of "**सर्वज्ञ**", where he means by the term "Omniscient God" and not "Buddha." It is a significant fact that **अमरसिंह**, who was himself a Buddhist, does nowhere give the word **सार्व** for Buddha in his **अमरकोश**।

The **अपोहवाद** of the Buddhists, which represents their theory of verbal connotation, is criticised by **भामह** in a language which cannot be considered possible for a Buddhist[4] writer.

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1. See Trivedi's Introduction to प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण p. xxxvii.
2. हितप्रकरणे णं च सर्वशब्दात् प्रयुज्जते ।
   ततश्छमिष्टया च यथा सार्वः सर्वीय इत्यपि ॥
   काव्या०—VI, 53.
   Cf. पाणिनि ' सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णढञौ ' V. 1. 10. also.
3. कृशानुरेताः सर्वज्ञो धूर्जटिर्नीललोहितः-अमरकोश.
4. अन्यापोहेन शब्दोऽर्थमाहेत्यन्ये प्रचक्षते ।
   अन्यापोहश्च नामान्यपदार्थापाकृतिः किल ॥
   यदि गौरित्ययं शब्दः कृतार्थोऽन्यनिराकृतौ ।
   जनको गवि गोबुद्धेर्मृग्यतामपरो ध्वनिः ॥
   काव्या०—VI, 16-17.

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He speaks of Vedic rites and ceremonies in very high terms. The kings who drank Soma are highly spoken of[1]. Most of his examples refer to Brahmanical gods[2] and heroes. The famous Paurāṇic legend of the burning of **काम** by **शिव** has been referred to by **भामह** in very clear terms[3]. He very frequently alludes to the characters and incidents of **रामायण**. The meeting of **राम** with **परशुराम**[4], his exile to the forest of **दण्डक** in obedience to the orders of his father[5], his piercing with a single arrow the seven **ताल** trees[6], the promise of **हनुमान्** to search out the whereabouts of **सीता**[7]—these are some of the famous incidents of **रामायण** mentioned by **भामह** in his **काव्यालङ्कार**.

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1. भूभृतां पीतसोमानां न्याय्ये वर्त्मनि तिष्ठताम् ।
   अलङ्करिष्णुना वंशं गुरौ सति जिगीषुणा ॥ काव्या०-IV.48.
2. युगादौ भगवान् ब्रह्मा विनिर्मिमीतेरिव प्रजाः । काव्या०-II.55 b.
   समग्रगगनायाममानदण्डो रथाङ्गिनः ।
   पादो जयति सिद्धस्त्रीमुखेन्दुनवदर्पणः ॥ काव्या०-III. 36.
   विदधानौ किरीटेन्दू श्यामाभ्रहिमसच्छवी ।
   रथाङ्गशूले बिभ्राणौ पातां वः शम्भुशार्ङ्गिणौ ॥ काव्या०-IV.21.
   कान्ते इन्दुशिरोरत्ने आदधाने उदंशुनी ।
   पातां वः शम्भुशर्वाण्यौ.....॥ काव्या०-IV.27.
3. स एकस्त्रीणि जयति जगन्ति कुसुमाशुधः ।
   हरतापि तनुं यस्य शम्भुना न हृतं बलम् । काव्या०-III. 25.
4. अत्याजयद्यथा रामः सर्वक्षत्रवधाश्रयाम् ।
   जामदग्न्यं युधा जित्वा सा ज्ञेया कोपबाधिनी ॥ काव्या०-V.44.
5. उदात्तशक्तिमान् रामो गुरुवाक्यानुरोधकः ।
   विहायोपनतं राज्यं यथा वनमुपागमत् ॥ काव्या०-III. 11.
6. रामः सप्ताभिनत् तालान् । काव्या०-III. 32.
7. उपलप्स्ये स्वरं सीतामिति भर्तृनिदेशतः ।
   हनूमता प्रतिज्ञाय सा ज्ञातेत्यर्थसंश्रया ॥ काव्या०-IV. 37.

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The references to the characters and incidents of **महाभारत** are far more numerous than those of **रामायण**. Almost all the important characters of **महाभारत** are found mentioned[1]. The promise of **पुरु** to suffer the miseries of old age in lieu of his father[2], and that of **भीष्म** for the life of a perfect celibate[3], have been alluded to by **भामह**, while illustrating different types of **प्रतिज्ञा**. Similarly, the gambling duel of **युधिष्ठिर** and **शकुनि**,[4], the terrible determination and performance of the drinking of **दुःशासन**'s blood[5], and many other incidents[6] are also referred to. In a truly beautiful śloka, **भामह** describes the feeling of excessive joy expressed by **विदुर** on **कृष्ण**'s arrival at his house[7]. In another śloka, the name of **प्रद्युम्न**, the son of **कृष्ण**, is found coupled with that of **ऐल पुरूरवा**, the progenitor of the lunar dynasty of Kṣatriyas[8].

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1. See भामह's काव्यालङ्कार, III. 7, V. 31, V. 41.
2. जरामेष विभर्मीति प्रतिज्ञाय पितुर्यथा
   तथैव पुरुणाभारि सा स्याद्धर्मनिबन्धिनी ॥ V. 36.
3. अद्यारभ्य निवत्स्यामि मुनिवद् वचनादिति
   पितुः प्रियाय यां भीष्मश्चक्रे सा कामबाधिनी ॥ V. 36.
4. आहूतो न निवर्तेय द्यूतायेति युधिष्ठिरः
   कृत्वा सन्धां शकुनिना दिदेवेत्यर्थबाधिनी ॥ V. 42.
5. भ्रातुर्भ्रातृव्यमुन्मथ्य पास्याम्यस्यासृगाहवे
   प्रतिज्ञाय यथा भीमस्तच्चकारावशो रुषा ॥ V. 39.
6. See काव्यालङ्कार, II. 41, V. 41.
7. ...गृहागतं कृष्णमवादीद्विदुरो यथा ॥
   अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते
   कालेनैषा भवेत् प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः ॥ III. 5.
8. भरतस्त्वं दिलीपस्त्वं त्वमेवैलः पुरूरवाः
   त्वमेव वीर प्रद्युम्नस्त्वमेव नरवाहनः ॥ V. 59.

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Besides these references to the रामायण and the महाभारत, there are obvious allusions to the stories of उदयन, the king of the Vatsas, and of his son, नरवाहनदत्त, as described in the बृहत्कथा of गुणाढय.[1] चाणक्य, the celebrated prime minister to चन्द्रगुप्तमौर्य, has been mentioned as going at night to the pleasure-house of king नन्द.[2]

Bearing in mind all these facts, we really wonder how a person professing a particular religion, should, when writing an important work, have totally forgotten his own religion and betaken himself always to another for illustrations. There is no dearth of legendary stories among the Buddhists. Had he so wished, he could have easily drawn upon them. This fact becomes quite clear on looking into the works of नमिसाधु and others, where it is found that all illustrations are taken from their own religious legends. Not only this. At times, in refuting अपोहवाद for instance, he becomes a bit aggressive to the pet ideas of the Buddhists. If we remember what the influence of the Buddhists was before the advent of श्रीशङ्कराचार्य, what homage they commanded even from royal personages, a Buddhist's partiality towards the Brahmanical religion becomes still more inexplicable. We may admit that these points by themselves do not form any firm ground for the belief that our author was a Hindu, but we have also to admit that the arguments advanced for making him a Buddhist are even more flimsy and consequently less tenable. It is still an open question and will continue to be, until some evidence of definite and undisputed character is forthcoming. In the mean-time we may assure ourselves on the strength of the data within our knowledge that there is more probability in भामह's being considered a Hindu than a Buddhist.

1. काव्यालङ्कार, IV. 39 etc.
2. Ibid III. 13.

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The Date of भामह

The most important problem in connection with **भामह** is his date. It has been the cause of a heated controversy among a number of eminent orientalists for a number of years. After such a long and impassionate discussion, one should expect to have a better result, namely, the exact determination of his date. But unfortunately the result has been quite the reverse. Nothing seems to have been achieved which is not even now enshrouded, to some extent, in the mist of doubt. We propose here to state, as clearly as possible, the various arguments which have been put forward from time to time, to settle this vexed question.

भामह, like most of the Sanskrit writers, does not give any clue to his date in his own work. There is no way of extracting evidence—internal or external—from any known source which may determine his date in exact numbers. What we can do is simply to try to find out the two limits to his date as correctly as the data at our disposal can allow.

Even there we do not seem to be on a very firm ground. We can some how or other settle the lower limit of his date from quotations and references of later writers. But when we proceed to determine the upper limit difficulties begin to multiply. It is there that the great scholars have been crossing swords with each other. Let us, however, begin with the consideration of the lower limit to his date.

By referring to the appendix of our text[1] or to the foot-notes in Mr. Trivedi's text[2], it will be found that the earliest writer to quote **भामह** directly is **आनन्दवर्द्धनाचार्य**. Then we learn from a number of later **आलङ्कारिक**s that **उद्भट** had written a commentary upon the **काव्यालङ्कार** of **भामह**[3]. On

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1. Published in the Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares.
2. Appendix VIII, प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण (B. S. S. XLV.)
3. " विशेषोक्तिलक्षणे च भामहविवरणे भट्टोद्भटेन एकदेशशब्द- एवं

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aring the contents of उद्भट's independent work काव्या-सङ्ग्रह with भामह's काव्यालङ्कार, it will appear that ad not been content with writing a commentary upon work of भामह, but had freely drawn upon it for his work[1]. As will be shown later on, he has not only ied भामह's definitions but has verily repeated them batim.

वामन's अलङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति gives clear indications of his quaintance with the work of भामह. It will be own later on in detail how much and how far he was debted to our author in the composition of his own work. t: is quite sufficient to remember at present, that at some llaces[2] he seems to paraphrase the verses of भामह[3] in the orm of sutras, at others[4] he appears to repeat those very

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व्याख्यातो यथेहास्माभिर्निरूपितः"—प्रतिहारेन्दुराज in his commentary upon उद्भट's काव्यालङ्कारसंग्रह (Banhatti's Edn. p. 14).

"भामहोक्तं शब्दच्छन्दोभिधानार्थः" इत्यभिधानस्य शब्दाद्यं व्याख्या तुं भट्टोद्भटो बभाषे"—अभिनवगुप्ताचार्य in his ध्वन्यालोकलोचन, p. 10. Also see pp. 39, 207.

"तस्माद्गडुलिकाप्रवाहेन गुणालङ्कारभेद इति भामहविवरणे यद् भट्टोद्भटोऽभ्यधात् तन्निरस्तम्"—हेमचन्द्र in his अलङ्कार चूडामणि p. 17. See also p. 110.

"अपि च'शब्दानाकुलिता चेति तस्य हेतून् प्रचक्षते'इति भामहीये'वाचा मनाकुलत्वेनापि भाविकम्' इति चोद्भटलक्षणे" etc., अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p. 183. (Nirnaya Sagara Edn.)

1. See Dr. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I. p. 45. and Kane's Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XLII.
2. वामन's काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र, IV. 2. 1.
3. भामह's काव्यालङ्कार, II. 30.
4. IV. 2. 20-21.

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views which are held by भामह[1]. He has reproduced[2] one śloka which has been cited by भामह in the name of शाखवर्द्धन[3]. At another place[4] he inaccurately quotes a part of भामह's verse[5] and comments upon the use of a word in it. Such a similarity of language, such a correspondence of views, cannot be a matter of accident but must be attributed to the assimilation of the work of an author of established reputation.

It is clear from the above references that भामह flourished before उद्भट and वामन. The date of उद्भट can be fortunately settled with some precision[6]. He is referred to by आनन्दवर्द्धनाचार्य in his ध्वन्यालोक[7] and spoken of as the सभापति of जयापीड by कल्हण. जयापीड़ reigned in Kashmir from 779 to 813 A. C. As this king, on account of his misrule, became unpopular with the Pandits in the latter part of his reign, उद्भट must have lived in his court before 800 A. C. So the period of उद्भट's literary activity may, with some probability, be assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century. His approximate date may therefore be taken as 800 A. C.

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1. II. 50.
2. IV. 2, 10.
3. II. 46.
4. V. 2. 38
5. II. 27.
6. See N. D. Banhatti's Introduction to his Edn. of उद्भट's अलङ्कारसारसंग्रह, (B. S. S. No. LXXIX, 1925, Poona); See also S. K. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 75; P. V. Kane's Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XLV; Buhler's Kashmir Report, p. 65.
7. "ध्वन्यलङ्कारान्तरप्रतिभायामपि श्लेषव्यपदेश्यो भवतीति दर्शितं भट्टोद्भटेन"-ध्वन्यालोक (निर्णयसागर Edn.) p. 96,

"अन्यत्र वाच्यत्वेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरलङ्कारः सोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमान-

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The date of **वामन**,[1] too, may be similarly settled. **राजशेखर**, who lived about 900 A.C[2]., refers to the school of **वामन**[3]. This gives us the lower limit of **वामन**. He must have lived before 900 A. C.

वामन quotes verses from the plays of **भवभूति**[4]. Now **भवभूति** lived somewhere between 700 and 750 A. C.[5] **वामन** is, therefore, later than 750. According to **राजतरङ्गिणी**[6], a certain **वामन** was a minister of King **जयापीड़** of Kashmir. There is a tradition among the Pandits of Kashmir that the

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तया बाहुल्येन प्रदर्शितस्तत्रभवद्भिर्भट्टोद्भटादिभिः"—ध्वन्यालोक p. 108.

1. For details, see Sanskrit Introductions to Bombay and Banglore Editions of **वामन**'s **काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति**; Dr. Jha's Preliminary note to his translation of **वामन**'s work; Dr. S. K. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I-p. 81ff; P. V. Kane's Introduction to **साहित्यदर्पण**, pp. XLVIII-L
2. Mr. C. D. Dalal's Introduction to **काव्यमीमांसा**; Dr. Konow's Introduction to **कर्पूरमञ्जरी** (H. O. S.)
3. "कवयोऽपि भवन्तीति वामनीयाः"—**काव्यमीमांसा** of **राजशेखर** (G O. S., No. 1., p. 14.)
" आग्रहपरिग्राहदपि पदस्थैर्यपर्यवसायस्तस्मात् पदानां परिवृत्तिवैमुख्यं पाकः ' इतिवामनीयाः"—Ibid, p. 20.
4. इयं गेहे [लक्ष्मीरियमसृतवर्तिर्नयनयोः etc.—**उत्तररामचरित** cited by **वामन** under IV. 3. 6.
पिङ्गालीपक्ष्मलिप्तः etc. **मालतीमाधव** cited by **वामन** under V. 2. 18.
5. See R. G. Bhandarkar's preface to his edn. of **मालतीमाधव** (B. S. S. No. XV) p. XIII—XVII, Bombay, 1905; also Smith's paper in J. R. A. S., 1908., p. 793.
6. " मनोरथः शंखदत्तश्चटकः सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः" ॥ IV. 497.

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author of **काव्यालङ्कार सूत्रवृत्ति** was identical with this minister. Bühler[1] believes in this tradition and we see no reason to disbelieve it. So, as shown above, **उद्भट** and **वामन** are almost synchronous. It is possible that they were rivals of each other. But it is curious that neither of them refers to the other. Howsoever it may be, the date of **उद्भट** and **वामन** is approximately about 800 A. C.

शान्तरक्षित qnotes three ślokas[2] from **भामह**'s **काव्यालङ्कार**[3] which are definetely ascribed to him by the commentator **कमलशील**. Now **शान्तरक्षित** lived from 705 to 762 A.C[5]. Thus 700 A. C. may be safely taken to be the lower limit of **भामह**, though, as we shall show later on, his real lower limit is furnished by **बाण**.

Now we come to determine the upper limit to the date of **भामह**. It is here that we have to encounter difficulties of the highest magnitude. Many suggestions have been made, many theories have been propounded. Let us take them one by one and try to see how much water they can hold.

भामह has at one place referred to a **न्यासकार**. Some scholars were led to think that this point would be of great help in settling a terminus of **भामह**. A keen and heated controversy ensued and has been raging for a long time. The credit of raising this learned question and then fighting single-handed to maintain his hypothesis with deep scholarship and reasonable plausibility, belongs to the great orientalist, Prof. K. B. Pathak. He found in **भामह**'s mention of

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1. See Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. 65.
2. **तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह**, slokas 912—914 (G.O.S. No. XXX)
3. VI. 17—19.
4. **तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह** p. 291.
5. See Mr. B. Bhattacharya's Foreword (pp. XIII—XVI) to the **तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह**

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न्यासकार a clear reference to **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**, the Buddhist author of **काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका**, whom he placed, on the evidence of the Chinese traveller, Itsing, in the 7th century. On the basis of this supposition, he tried to prove that **भामह** must be assigned to the 8th century.[1] He found a very strong opponent in Mr. K. P. Trivedi who proved to the hilt that the structure of Prof. Pathak's hypothesis was raised upon the foundation of sands.[2] Mr. Trivedi, on the merit of his stronger arguments, was supported by almost all the writers on the subject,[3] and was perhaps able at last to convince of his reasonableness even the originator of this controversy.[4]

The verses where **न्यासकार** is alluded to in the **काव्यालङ्कार** of **भामह**, run thus :—

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।
तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथञ्चिदुदाहरेत् ॥
सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः ।
अकेन च न कुर्वीत वृत्तिं तद्भमको यथा ॥

The simple meaning of this extract may be thus expressed—A poet should not make use of a compound, one member of which is formed by adding the suffix **तृच्** and the

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1. J. R. A. S. Bom., Vol. xxlii ; Ind. Ant., Vol. xli, 1912.
2. Introd. to **प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण**, pp. xxxv ff; Ind. Ant., xlii, 1913.
3. Mr. Kane—Introd. to **साहित्यदर्पण**, pp. xxxv—xxxvi ;
   Dr. S. K. De–History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 47;
   Dr. Jacobi—Sb. der Preuss. Akad. xxiv (1912) pp. 210—211 ;
   Sovani—Pre-Dhvani Schools, Bh. Com. Vol., p. 393.
4. As far as we know, Prof. Pathak has written nothing after 1913 on this subject.

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other by the terminations of the genitive case, supporting it by reference to the usage of a learned man or following the view of **न्यासकार**. One should not make such a use as was done, when the word **वृत्रहन्ता** was cited by saying that the sutra of Pāṇini becomes **ज्ञापक** in such a case. Neither should he bring about a compound of words ending with **अक** with words ending in the genitive case, as, for example, **तद्वमक**. The sum and substance of **भामह**'s contention is simply this that **पाणिनि**'s sutra **तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि** (II. 2. 15) should be strictly followed and no **षष्ठीतत्पुरुष** compound formed with words ending in the subjective **तृच्** and **अक** suffixes. Consequently no compound takes place in cases like **अपां स्रष्टा, वज्रस्य भर्ता, ओदनस्य पाचकः** etc. Now the passage in **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**'s **काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका** (popularly known as **न्यास**) which discusses the use of such compounds, runs as follows :—

अथ किमर्थं तृचः सानुबन्धस्योच्चारणम् ? तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थम् । नैतदस्ति तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् । एवं तर्हि एतदेव ज्ञापकं भवति तद्योगेऽपि क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति । तेन भीष्मः कुरुणां भयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ।

This passage is found in connection with the sutra **तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि** (II. 2. 15). Here the **न्यासकार** is discussing the utility of the **अनुबन्ध 'च'** in **तृच्**. **पाणिनि** could have easily said **त्रकाभ्याम्** rather than **तृजकाभ्याम्**। Why has he inserted **च** ? The answer to this question as given by **जिनेन्द्र** is that it serves to exclude **तृन्**. But there comes in another difficulty. **तृन्** cannot be used with words ending in **षष्ठी** by **न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम्** (II. 3. 69). **षष्ठीसमास** is out of question. This objection is met by saying that this very sutra becomes **ज्ञापक** so that the genitive can be used with the words ending in **तृच्**. The prohibition by **लोकाव्ययनिष्ठा**

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etc. is inconstant. So whenever we meet with a compound of a word ending with a genitive termination and another ending in तृ, we should say that the suffix added is not तृच् but तृन्. Now, on comparison of these two passages with each other it will be evident that भामह insists upon the prohibition of षष्ठीसमास with words ending in तृच् and अक-As seen in another place[1], he had a very high regard for the authority of पाणिनि. In this particular case also, he wants us to follow the rule of पाणिनि quite literally. He catches this opportunity of referring to the view of a न्यासकार who had allowed (as would appear from the words of भामह) the use of such compounds by saying that this sutra of पाणिनि could very well be taken as a ज्ञापक. It would also appear that the न्यासकार had actually cited the example वृत्रहन्ता and तद्गमक. To ordinary eyes the words of भामह are as clear as anything and they need no torture from out side, unless, of course, they are meant to yield the desired import already conceived.

Prof. Pathak takes great pains to explain this extract in his own favourite way at one place[2], and elsewhere[3] he gives the sum and substance of his contention. We shall just quote a few sentences from the latter place to show the position assumed by the Professor upon this question. " It will be sufficient " he says, " for my present purpose to point out that in the verses cited above Bhāmaha condemns all genitive compounds like वृत्रहन्ता and तद्गमक as ungrammatical, and says that such compounds should never be employed by young authors aspiring to eminence. When he contrasts the शिष्टप्रयोगमात्र with the न्यासकारमत, he does

1. श्रद्धेयं जगति मतं हि पाणिनीयम्--काव्यालङ्कार VI.63.
2. J. R. A. S. Bomb., Vol. XXIII., p. 138.
3. Ind. Ant. XLI, 1912, p. 234.

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not mean to say that this particular compound **वृत्रहन्ता** is used by the **शिष्ट** or justified by the Nyāsakāra. Bhāmaha mentions this word **वृत्रहन्ता** as an illustration of the class of genitive compounds justified by the Nyāsakāra. This is amply proved by the expression **इत्येवमादि** in the sentence **भीष्म : कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि** and by the **ज्ञापक** discriminating between **तृच्** and **तृन्** which applies to all genitive compounds like **वृत्रहन्ता।** "

Thus Prof. Pathak would have us believe that, in spite of the difference existing between the two, **भामह** and **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि** mean the same thing. As shown above **भामह** and **न्यासकार** had supported the use of **तृच्** compound by the help of **पाणिनि**'s **ज्ञापकसूत्र।** He had perhaps nothing to say about **तृन्** at that place. But **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि** speaks of **तृन्**, so that wherever we meet with such compounds, he would call the termination **तृन्** and not **तृच्।**

Let us put the whole thing more clearly. **पाणिनि** has laid down that compounds of words ending in the genitive terminations with words ending in the subjective **तृच्** and **अक** affixes, should never be formed. But difficulty arose when the use of such compounds was met with in the writings of classical writers. Now the grammarians were bound to support such uses some how or other. It became especially more binding on them to support such uses for the reason that even in the sutras of **पाणिनि** such as **जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः**, such compounds are to be found. The important views on the point can be thus stated :—

(i) Some say that, as **पाणिनि** himself has made use of such compounds in the sutras **जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः, तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च**, the **निषेध** implied by the sutra **तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि**, is not absolutely binding: in certain cases such compounds may be allowed.

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(ii) **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि,** the famous author of the **काशिकान्यास,** would like to say that the termination here is **तृन्** and not **तृच्** and that the prohibition of **षष्ठी** in the case of **तृन्** by the rule **न लोकाव्यय** etc. is **अनित्य.**

(iii) **कैयट** and others hold that in such cases we should explain the 6th case-ending as an instance of **शेषे षष्ठी. भट्टोजिदीक्षित,** who raised this question in his **सिद्धान्तकौमुदी**[1] and summed up all the views in his **प्रौढमनोरमा,**[2] seems to favour the view of **कैयट ;**

(iv) There may be some who having too much regard for grammatical purity, would not permit such uses in any way.

It goes without saying that **भामह** would be very greatly inclined—as he surely is in his **काव्यालङ्कार**— to hold the last view. It is known to all who have any knowledge of Sanskrit Poetics that grammatical purity is not identical with rhetorical purity. An expression may be grammatically justified, but it need not, on that account, be consistent with the canons or dicta of good poetry. In poetry expression is as important as the matter it represents. If an expression is doubtful in point of its structural purity, it will not commend itself to a good poet even though the doubt may be the slightest one. This was indeed the position of **भामह.** From the way in which he refers to the view of a certain **न्यासकार,**

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1. _कथं तर्हि "घटानां निर्मातुस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः" इति । शेषष्ठ्या समास इति कैयटः ।
2. शेष षष्ठया इति । केचित्तु जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिस्तत्प्रयोजकोहेतुश्चेति-निर्देशादनित्योयं निषेध इत्याहुः । न्यासकारस्त्वाह । तृन्नन्तमेतत् । न लोकेति षष्ठीनिषेधस्त्वनित्यः । त्रकाभ्यामिति वक्तव्ये तृचः सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणज् ज्ञापकादिति ।

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it would appear that even in his days such grammatical speculations were quite brisk, and the point in question has also attracted the attention of scholars. Perhaps the most important view on this point was that which finds its criticism in the **काव्यालङ्कार** of **भामह**, viz., that **पाणिनि**'s sutras were taken as **ज्ञापक** and the **निषेध** prescribed by the rule **तृजकाभ्यां** etc. was considered **अनित्य**.

Let us now compare the view criticised by **भामह** with the four views stated above and try to find if it corresponds with any of them. It will be seen at once that it coincides with the first one. It will also appear that the first view is distinctly different from the second one which is held by **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**.

Let us now turn towards the examples. The example found in **भामह**'s **काव्यालङ्कार** is **वृत्रहन्ता** but in **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**'s **न्यास** it is **भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्ता**. They do not correspond. Prof. Pathak tells us that "Bhāmaha has mentioned this word **वृत्रहन्ता** as an illustration of the class of genitive compounds justified by the Nyāsakāra." It is indeed inconceivable why **भामह** should bring in another set of examples and not use the same which were used by **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**, especially when he was so opposed to his view as to refer to him so very pointedly. It is a common practice among good writers that when they have to discuss or even simply refer to such things, they always cite those very examples which were given by their predecessors. **शरणदेव** [1], for instance, when giving the substance of the passage quoted above, refers to the

1. कथ भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तेत्युच्यते । तृन्नन्तमेतत् । न च लोकाव्ययनिष्ठेति (II. 3. 69) षष्ठीनिषेधः । यतस्त्रिजकाभ्यमित्यत्र तृचः सानुबन्धकस्योपादानं तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थं ज्ञापयति तृनो योगे क्वचित् षष्ठीति न्यास : ।

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example of **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि. भट्टोजिदीक्षित** [1] undoubtedly begins this discussion with a quite different sentence but his position was not the same as that of **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि** or of **शरणदेव.** He is neither criticising nor summarising the statement of the **न्यासकार.** He selects the sentence from a very popular **श्लोक**[2] which, the tradition says, was composed by **भवभूति** while holding a verbal fight with an opponent. This context perhaps becomes a commentary upon the happy selection of an example on the part of the learned author of the **सिद्धान्तकौमुदी ।**

A scholar has to be particularly careful about his language when he is engaged in a discussion with another scholar. The same is the case with **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि** who draws his example from the popular work, the **महाभारत.** But the position of **भामह** was totally different. In criticising the **न्यासकार** he must necessarily quote the same example, and this is what he actually did. The word **उदितः,** in the sentence **सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः,** clearly proves it. He would have never used the word **उदितः** if he had selected the example at random.

When Prof. Pathak speaks of **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि** as the only **न्यासकार,** 'he tells us something less than the truth.' In spite of his attempt to prove otherwise, there did exist several **न्यास**'s besides the one attributed to **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि. माधवाचार्य,** as ponited out correctly by Mr. Trivedi,[3] mentions in his **धातुवृत्ति** the names of **क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास, न्यासोद्योत, बोधिन्यास, शाकटायनन्यास** etc. The attempt made by Prof.

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1. कथं तर्हि घटानां निर्मातुस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलह इति etc.
2. See भोज प्रबन्ध (निर्णयसागर)
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 261.
4. "स्पष्टं चैव गूढधूप इत्यत्र न्यासपदमञ्जर्यादिषु । अत्र क्षेमेन्द्र न्यासे

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Pathak to explain them away by saying that 'the word **न्यास** is frequently used in the sense of grammatical treatise or commentary'[1] does not seem to improve his position in any way. **बाण** in his **हर्षचरित**, as first pointed out by Mr. Kane[2], refers to a **न्यास**. The expression used there is **कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः** which is explained by the commentator **शङ्कर** as **कृतोऽभ्यस्तो गुरुपदे दुर्बोधशब्दे न्यासो वृत्तिवि (र्वि) वरणं यैः**[3]. None has so far tried to prove that **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि** lived before the reign of **हर्षवर्द्धन**. Mr. R. Narsimhachar[4] writes about a **न्यास** written by **पूज्यपाद**, who, according to Mr. Rice, lived about 500 A. C.

Even if it were possible (but in fact it is not) to show that the **न्यासकार** referred to by **भामह**, may be **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**, it is not easy to prove that **भामह** came after **जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि**। The only ground on which Prof. Pathak placed him about 700 A C., is a string of confused statements of the Chinese traveller, Itsing, about the grammarians of those times. All

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पणतेः सार्वधातुकेऽप्यायविकल्प उक्तः-धातुवृत्ति (Mysore Edn.) Vol. I., p. 266.

"अंकथितं च इत्यत्र न्यासे निवहि हरि जिदण्डीन् प्रस्तुत्य..... ... न्यासोद्योतेच अजादीनां ग्रामादीनां चेप्सिततमत्वमविशिष्टमित्युक्तम् ibid Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 529.

वेधिन्यासेऽपि सातिः सुखे वर्तते सौत्र इति । जिनेन्द्रहरदत्तौ सातिर्हेतुमण्यन्तः इति-ibid Vol. 5. Pt. I, p. 122.

शाकटायनन्यासकृतोऽप्ययमेव पक्षोऽभिमतः—ibid Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 94.

It is to be noted here that in all these quotations जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि is distinctly referred to.

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 233.
2. J. R. A. S., Bomb 1909, p. 94.
3. हर्षचरित (Führer's Edn.) p. 133.
4. Ind. Ant. XLI, 1912, p. 91.

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these statements cannot be accepted as perfectly correct. Dr. Jacobi[1] has therefore rightly called in question the date assigned by Prof. Pathak to जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि. Keilhorn[2], while noticing a fragment from जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि's work in Poona, wrote: "My impression certainly was that Jinendrabuddhi has freely copied from Haradatta's Padamañjari." Dr. Jacobi[3] has shown, on the authority of भविष्योत्तरपुराण, that हरदत्त died in 878 A.C. This will take जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि to the 10th century at least. We have already shown[4] that भामह cannot be later than 700 A.C. It is impossible for जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि to have copied from the पदमञ्जरी of हरदत्त and still be a predecessor of भामह.

We may now sum up this part of our discussion. The न्यासकार referred to by भामह is not जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि as was supposed by Prof. Pathak. He was an old writer whose work has now become extinct and who is wholly unknown to us. His view, as known from भामह, seems to be referred to by भट्टोजिदिक्षित in his प्रौढमनोरमा। So an attempt to find out the other terminus of भामह, with the help of his reference to न्यासकार, cannot go very far and we must look up to something else for it.

भामह and माघ

While dealing with one of the main contributions of Prof. Pathak to the determination of भामह's date, we may, in passing, just note another interesting point raised by the learned professor[5]. This refers to an unconvincing attempt

1. Sitzungsberichte der Preusssischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XXIV, p. 210
2. J.R.A.S. 1908, p 499
3. Sitz. d. Preuss, Akad. d. Wiss., xxis,p. 211
4. p. 16. above
5. J. R.A.S., Bomb. Vol. XXIII,:p. 31.

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made by him to find out some chronological relation between भामह and माघ. भामह, at one place,[1] expresses his view about the constitution of काव्य and says शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्—a view which has attracted the attention of almost all later आलङ्कारिक's of note. माघ has in शिशुपालवध II. 86. the following beautiful श्लोक—

नालम्बते दैष्टिकतां न निषीदति पौरुषे ।
शब्दार्थौ सत्कविरिव द्वयं विद्वानपेक्षते ॥

Now it is argued that माघ must have been acquainted with भामह's काव्यालङ्कार before he expressed himself in such a strain. This point is maintioned here, not for its importance but for its interest. We need not, therefore, go into detail over this question. Those who feel interested may read the refutation of this argument in the paper of Mr. Kane[2]. We shall only quote a few lines from Dr. J. Nobel's book[3] and leave the rest to the imagination of curious readers. "Māgha is said," writes Dr. J. Nobel, "to refer to the definition of Kāvya as given by Bhāmaha, but if this is considered as an argument I may be allowed to take as an argument of the same force that Kalidāsa in Raghuvaṇśa I.1., by the words *Vāgarthāviva sampṛktau* refers to the very same definition of Bhāmaha, and that by this fact Bhāmaha's priority may be taken for granted. By using the simile of Śabdārtha, however, Māgha probably refers to that of Kālidāsa or perhaps to some other view and not the definition of Kāvya in Bhāmaha. This argument however, is of no great value, because the so-called definition of Kāvya (as consisting of word and sense united) may go back to some older Ālaṃkārikas"

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1. काव्यालङ्कार, I. 16.
2. J. R.A.S. Bomb. Vol. XXIII, p. 91. ff.
3. The foundations of Indian Poetry, p. 15—16.

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भामह and कालिदास

Still more interesting and equally important is the view which seeks to establish the priority of **कालिदास** to our author. In **भामह**'s **काव्यालङ्कार** I. 42-44 we read—

अयुक्तिमद्दु यथा दूता जलभृन्मारुतेन्दवः ।
तथा भ्रमरहारीतचक्रवाकशुकादयः ॥
अवाचो व्यक्तवाचश्च दूरदेशविचारिणः ।
कथं दूत्यं प्रपद्येरन्निति युक्त्या न युज्यते ॥
यदि चोत्कण्ठया यत्तदुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।
तथा भवतु भूम्नेदं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

भामह is criticising here those poets who make in their works the cloud, the wind, the moon and similarly some birds to appear as messengers. He calls this an instance of **अयुक्तिमद्दोष**. It goes wholly against reason, he says, that such creatures should be able to perform the duties of messengers. But he concedes this in the case of those intelligent posts, who, when making use of such devices, show them to be employed by men who are out of their wits.

Now some scholars[1] argue that **भामह** must have had in mind the **मेघदूत** of **कालिदास** where a cloud has been used as a messenger. It is also pointed out that a passage[1] of **भामह** seems to borrow an idea and phraseology from two

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1. Haricand.—L'Art Poetique de L'Inde, p. 77 ;
V. V. Sovani—Pre-dhawani Schools, Bhandarkar commomoration Volume, p. 393 ;
S. K. De.—History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I. 48.

2 अस्मिन् जहीहि सुहृदि प्रणयाभ्यसूयामाश्लिष्यगाढमनुमानतमादरेण ।
विन्ध्यं महानिव घनः समयेऽभिवर्षन्नानन्दजैर्नयनवारिभिरुक्षतु त्वाम् ॥
I. 56.

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श्लोक[1] of कालिदास. This shows that कालिदास must have flourished before भामह.

Others, on the other hand, hold quite an opposite view. " Bhāmahāchārya, " writes Dr. T. Ganpati Sāstri[2], "it seems to me, must have lived long prior to Kālidāsa. For while he mentions such names of poets and poems as Medhāvī, Rāma Śarmā, Aśmakavaṃśa, Ratnaharaṇa, Achyutottara, all unknown to us, he has never mentioned the name of Kālidāsa of world-wide fame or any of his works of supreme excellence. But had Bhāmaha ever seen the poems of Kālidāsa he would have of course mentioned them or made them also as in the case of Pratijñānātikā subject of his criticism." After this the learned Pandit quotes those three verses of भामह[3] which we have given above and remarks—"From this we cannot conclude that भामह was conversant with the poem Meghadūta, for then we could as well infer that he knew also of Śukasandeśa written by a poet of yesterday. Hence, I think, that by these ślôkas, our Āchārya only teaches us generally that the fashion in some of our Kāvyas of lovers sending messages through such inanimate objects as the wind, the moon, the clouds and such living inarticulate creatures as the bee, the chakravaka and the parrot is not desirable on occasions when the sender of the message is in a state of sobriety. Bearing in mind this instruction of our

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1 अथाभिषेकं रघुवंशकेतोः प्रारब्धमानन्दजलैर्जनन्योः ।
निर्वर्तयामासुरमात्यवृद्धास्तीर्थाहृतैः काञ्चनकुम्भतोयैः ॥
सरित्समुद्रान् सरसीश्च गत्वा रक्षःकपीन्द्रैरुपपादितानि ।
तस्यापतन् मूर्ध्नि जलानि जिष्णोर्विन्ध्यस्य मेघप्रभवा इवापः ॥
—रघुवंश XIV. 7-8

2. Introduction to स्वप्नवासवदत्ता and प्रतिज्ञायौगधरायण (Trivendrum Edn.)

3. काव्यालङ्कार, I. 42-44.

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Āchārya, Kālidāsa, with his keen sense of poetic propriety, observes, in defence of his message through the cloud at the begining of Meghadūta :—

धूमज्योतिःसलिलमरुतां सन्निपातः क्व मेघः
सन्देशार्थाः क्व पटुकरणैः प्राणिभिः प्रापनीयाः।
इत्यौसुक्यादपरिगणयन् गुह्यकस्तं ययाचे
कामार्ता हि प्रकृतिकृपणाश्चेतनाचेतनेषु॥—पूर्वमेघ।

Thus it is seen that Bhāmaha lived much prior to Kalidāsa."

This long quotation from the most important exponent of this side of the view, will make the position quite clear. It may be interesting to know that Dr. Nobel also was formerly a believer in the priority of **भामह** to **कालिदास**. Even now, with his belief slightly shaken, (simply because he could not directly prove it) he is more inclined to accept the priority of **भामह** to **कालिदास** than that of **कालिदास** to **भामह**.[1]

Taking the arguments from both sides into consideration, we may confess that much can be said on both sides and that nothing is really settled. One cannot imagine that such a criticism can be possible without any work to be criticised and explain on the other hand, why other things connected with **कालिदास** should not have come under the notice of **भामह**, if the works of the great poet were known to him.

Whatsoever may be the fact, it is needless to carry this discussion to any further length, because, even if it were decided one way or the other, it will not in any way help us in determining the date of **भामह**. The date of **कालिदास** itself is a bone of contention and cannot be made a basis for determination of other dates.

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1. See Nobel's The Foundations of Indian Poetry, pp. 14-15.

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भामह AND भास.

The same remark is to be made with regard to the chronological relation of **भामह** and **भास**, though in this case, it has not been suggested by any person that **भामह** came after the author of the work he is criticising. The difficulty with us here is that we cannot exactly know what work he is criticising. The verses in the **काव्यालङ्कार** of **भामह** which refer to the criticism in question read thus—

विजिगीषुमुपन्यस्य वत्सेशं वृद्धदर्शनम् ।
तस्यैव कृतिनः पश्चादभ्यधाच्चरशून्यताम् ॥
अन्तर्योधशताकीर्णं सालङ्कायननेतृकम् ।
तथाविधं गजच्छद्म नाज्ञासीत् स स्वभूगतम् ॥
यदि वोपेक्षितं तस्य सचिवैः स्वार्थसिद्धये ।
अहो नु मन्दिमा तेषां भक्तिर्वा नास्ति भर्तरि ॥
शरा दृढधनुर्मुक्ता मन्युमद्भिररातिभिः ।
मर्माणि परिहृत्यास्य पतिष्यन्तीति कानुमा ॥
हतोऽनेन ममभ्राता मम पुत्रः पिता मम ।
मातुलो भागिनेयश्च रुषा संरब्धचेतसः ॥
अस्यन्तो विविधान्याजावायुधान्यपराधिनम् ।
एकाकिनमरण्यानां न हन्युर्बहवः कथम् ॥
नमोऽस्तु तेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यो येऽभिप्रायं कवेरिमम् ।
शास्त्रलोकावपास्यैव नयन्ति नयवेदिनः ॥
सचेतसो वनेभस्य चर्मणा निर्मितस्यच ।
विशेषं वेद बालोऽपि कष्टं किन्नु कथं नु तत् ॥ IV.39–46

The stories of **उदयन**, the king of **वत्स**s, were very popular in ancient India, so much so that many works, even besides those which directly devote themselves to them, refer to them here and there. So when we find such a criticism in the work of **भामह**, we cannot exactly determine what is the actual object of his criticism. Dr. T. Ganapati Śāstri suggests that the work criticised must be **प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण**. "The subject reviewed by Bhāmaha above," says the eminent

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editor, " is seen in its entirety in Pratijñānāṭikā. Moreover, the Prakrit passage " अणेण मम भादा हदो, अणेण मम पिदा, अणेण मम सुदो" in the first Act of Pratijñānāṭikā is quoted in the form of verse, " हतोऽनेन मम भ्राता मम पुत्रः पिता मम " by Bhāmaha, in his enquiry on Nyāyavirodha."

In spite of this suggestion made by the learned Pandit, we may observe that the case is much doubtful. भामह does not mention the name of भास or his प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण. He may be criticising गुणाढ्य's वृहत्कथा itself which was indeed the oldest compendium of such stories. The Prakrit portion common with भामह's श्लोक, might have a similar representative passage there also. Moreover, the theory of the learned Śāstri itself, as observes Mr. Kane, is based on a very weak foundation. If we examine the passage from भामह more closely, it will be found that the story criticised by him is not exactly the same as found in प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण. It corresponds more with the versions found in वृहत्कथा मञ्जरी and कथा-सरित्-सागर. They are known to be the epitomes of वृहत्कथा. But even if it was proved that it is भास who has been criticised, it will not help us in any way. For the last 14 years, a sharp controversy has been going on, not only with regard to the date of भास, but also concerning the authenticity of the works published in his name. As there is no certainty about the date of भास, there is no use putting it forward as a terminus of भामह.

भामह AND भट्टि।

It will not be perhaps out of place to devote some space here for discussing the relation of भट्टि and भामह. It is a well-known tradition among the Pandits of India that भट्टि, the famous author of the grammatical Kāvya, known as रावणवध or simply as भट्टिकाव्य, tried to furnish illustrations

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to the **काव्यालङ्कार** in the four cantos (X—XIII) known as **प्रसन्नकाण्ड** exactly as he did in others for the sutras of Pāṇini. This tradition finds further support from the statements of the commentators[1]. It would appear from the way they write that **भट्टि** wrote the 10th canto to illustrate figures of word and sense, 11th, **माधुर्यगुण**, 12th, **भाविक** and the 13th Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvya. **प्रसादगुण** finds its illustration in all the four cantos. If we look at the **श्लोक**s illustrating **अलङ्कार**s in canto X, we shall find, from the order and the way they are given, that **भट्टि** had **भामह**'s **काव्यालङ्कार** before him. The commentators **जयमङ्गल** and **मल्लिनाथ** have freely drawn upon the work of **भामह** for giving the definitions of these **अलङ्कार**s in their commentaries.[2] They could have easily taken the definitions from later and fuller rhetorcial works. But then the illustrative **श्लोक**s would not have so well conformed to those definitions. There is a **श्लोक** in **भामह**'s **काव्यालङ्कार** which is found in **भट्टिकाव्य** with very slight alterations. The **श्लोक** of **भामह** is—

काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।
उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥ —II. 20

In **भट्टिकाव्य** we have

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1. शब्दलक्षणमुक्तमपि लक्षयन् काव्यलक्षणार्थं प्रसन्नकाण्डमुच्यते, काव्यस्यात्र प्रसन्नत्वात् । प्रथमं चेदं लक्षणं यत्प्रसन्नता नाम आविद्वदङ्गनाबालप्रतीतार्थं प्रसन्नवदिति ।.....तथास्मिन् काण्डे चत्वारः परिच्छेदाः । अलङ्कार माधुर्यप्रदर्शनदोषाः भाषासमावेशश्चेति etc.—जयमङ्गल in his commentary in the beginning of canto X.

शब्दलक्षणप्रधानेऽप्यास्मिन् काव्ये काव्यलक्षणत्वादधिकारकण्डानन्तरमलङ्कार माधुर्य भाविक भाषासमाख्य परिच्छेदचतुष्टयात्मकमारभमानोऽस्मिन् सर्गे तावदलङ्कारपरिच्छेदं वदन्नादौ शब्दालङ्कारान् लेशतो दर्शयति । —मल्लिनाथ in his commentary on भट्टिकाव्य in the beginning of canto X.

2. See परिशिष्ट to our edn. of भामह's काव्यालङ्कार. जयमङ्गल has no less than 33 quotations from this work.

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व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।
हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥—XXII.34.

Here it can be imagined quite easily that one of the two must have borrowed from the other. श्रीवत्साङ्कमिश्र ascribes the former श्लोक to भामह. There on this authority it necessarily follows that भट्टि must have imitated भामह in writing his श्लोक.[1] All these facts, stated above, cannot but point to one conclusion, in that भामह was prior to भट्टि.

Now as regards the date of भट्टि, the only clue which we have is his श्लोक forming the last verse of his काव्य. It is—

काव्यमिदं विहितं मया बलभ्यां
श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।
कीर्तिरतो भवतान्नृपस्य तस्य
प्रेमकरः क्षितिपो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥—XXII. 35.

The history of Kathiawar tells us that there were four Kings with the name of धरसेन who ruled over बलभी (modern Vala). It is not quite clear which धरसेन is alluded to by भट्टि[2].

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar[3] identifies the author of भट्टिकाव्य with वत्सभट्टि, mentioned in the Mandasor Sun Temple Inscription,[4] dated 473 A C. on the ground of similarty between the verses of the inscription and the description of autumn in the भट्टिकाव्य.[5] But this identification is considered by Prof. Keith as a 'most unfortunate suggestion'[6].

1. Trivedi—Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 264.
2. For more information, see Mr. Trivedi's introduction to भट्टिकाव्य (B. S. S. No LVI.)
3. J. R. A, S., 1904, pp. 395–397.
4. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18.
5. Canto II.
6. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 759.

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But the two learned professors are at one in saying that भट्टि flourished before भारवि and दण्डी. We may go so for as to say, with Mr. Trivedi[1] that "our poet lived in the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century." But the safest course will be to side with Mr. Kane[2] and say that "भट्टि must have lived sometime between 500 and 650 A.C."[3] Whatever might have been the difference with regard to the date of भट्टि, none was heard to suggest till 1922 that भट्टि was prior to भामह. In this year Dr. Jacobi[4] struck a new line of argument in determining the date of भामह. He tried to prove with all plausibility that भामह had drawn his material for the 5th chapter of काव्यालङ्कार from the न्यायविन्दु of धर्मकीर्ति. This necessitated the placing of भामह after 650 A. C. Now भट्टि, as shown above, cannot be later than 650. So the learned scholars were compelled to look upon the relation of भट्टि to भामह from quite a different angle of vision. Dr. S. K. De, who, as far as we remember, never disagrees with Dr. Jacobi but always follows in his foot-steps, writes[5]—"At one time it was believed, on the indication given by Jayamangala on Bhatti that the alamkāra-chapters in that काव्य especially

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1. Introduction to his Edn. of भट्टिकाव्य (B. S. S. No. LVI), P. XXII.

2. Introduction to his Edn. of साहित्यदर्पण, P. XVI.

3. For the discussions on the date of भट्टि, see also Dr. Jacobi-Z. D. M. G., XLIV and also Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1922, pp. 216-17; V. V. Sovani—Bhandarkar commomoration Volume, p. 393; S. K. De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I. p. 50ff.

4. Sitz. d. Preuss Akad. d. Wiss., No. XXIV, pp-211-12.

5. History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I p. 50.

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canto X, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhāmaha in particular, but the date now assigned to Bhāmaha (i. e. after धर्मकीर्ति's date 650) will re-adjust his relation to Bhatti in a new light." The two learned doctors have taken great pains in 're-adjusting' भामह's relation to भट्टि. Re-adjustnent has been in the present case nothing less than perfect reversion of the former position. There is no use of examining on our part this 're-adjustment' in all its details, for it has not been so much a child of logic as one of necessity. The present case appears to us like that of a certain talented lawyer. He once began to put forward arguments which might have been advanced by the other side. When he was on the point of completing his arguments, he was made aware of his blunder by one of his colleagues. He remained unmoved and at once addressed the court. "My Lords, such will be the arguments put forward by the other side. Now I begin to refute them." We wonder why the premises of the conclusion which upset the whole thing, were not more carefully examined to see if there was some other alternative possible. Such cases of resemblance, corroboroted by the record of commentators and confirmed by the voice of tradition, as exist between the काव्यालङ्कार of भामह and the रावणवध of भट्टि, cannot be a matter of mere chance. As we shall try to show later on, भामह cannot be carried below 600 A.C. He may be much earlier. So there is no necessity of putting the cart before the horse.

दण्डी and भामह.

Now we come to one of the most important parts of the discussion upon the date of भामह. दण्डी, the auther of काव्यादर्श, has been very popular among the literati of mediæval India, perhaps even to some extent more than भामह himself, who had the misfortune of having his work not

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so easily available. On a close study of the works of these great poeticians, the impression becomes irresistible that they were related to each other, some way or other. There are some passages which are identical in the works of both, not only in sense but even in phraseology[1]. There are others, more important still, which appear to involve mutual criticism.[2] Besides, there are various views—either similar or dissimilar to one another—which clearly point to an intimate relation existing between the काव्यालङ्कार and काव्यादर्श[3] ।

These impressions, culled from the works of these two writers, led to the discussion of their chronological relation with each other. A sharp controversy ensued for settling the priority of one to the other. Mr. M. T. Narsimheingar raised this issue for the first time and was inclined to place दण्डी before भामह[4] He found his arguments very ably refuted by such eminent scholars as Mr. Trivedi[5], Dr. Jacobi[6], Prof. Rangacharya[7], Dr. Ganpati Śastri[8] and Prof. Pathak[9]. The last seems, however, to have changed his view later on[10]. As the majority of views appears to favour the priority of भामह, we need not encumber our humble paper with the statements of all views held either

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1. Kane—Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XXV ; De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, I. pp. 64-65.
2. De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, I. pp. 65-66.
3. Kane—Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, pp. XXV—XXXV.
4. J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 535 ff.
5. Introduction to प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण pp. XXIII ff. ; Ind. Ant. XLII, ff. ; Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 40.
6. Z. D. M. G., LXIV, pp. 134 and 139.
7. Introduction to his edition of काव्यादर्श.
8. Introduction to स्वप्नवासवदत्त, p. XXV.
9. Introduction to कविराजमार्ग, p. 16.
10. J.B.B.R.A.S , XXIII. p. 19; Ind. Ant. XLI., p. 236 ff.

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against or in favour of his priority. Mr. Kane has very cautiously collected the arguments of either side and those who feel interested may refer to his learned work[1]. Mr. Kane, after stating and examining all such views with admiriable impartiality, has come to the conclusion that in reality no judgement is yet possible on the question one way or the other though from the character of the arguments employed he seems to be somewhat inclined in favour of दण्डी's priority to भामह. He sums up his position thus : " It seems probable that भामह and दण्डी follow independent traditions, the former having more affinity with the अलङ्कार school and the latter with भरत's school. Whoever may be earlier, both are very near each other and are to be placed between 500-630 A. C.[2]" Dr. De has, however, by forcibly re-stating some cogent arguments, ably demonstrated that the majority view is the only best logical alternative[3].

We shall, by way of concluding this portion of our paper, state one or two points which, to our mind, would conclusively show that भामह cannot be brought down to a period later than दण्डी. Recently a book named अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथा has been discovered in the South by the Curator of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library[4]. It is evident from the said MS. that it was written by दण्डी. It is prefaced, as is usually done in कथाs, with a number of verses. These verses include the praise of बाण and मयूर[5] along with that

1. Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, pp. XXV—XXXV.
2. Ibid p. XXXV.
3. History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, pp. 64—70.
4. Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 193–201; Journal of the Mythic Society, XIII, pp. 671–685.
5. भिन्नस्तीक्ष्णमुखेनापि चित्रं बाणेन निर्व्यथः ।
व्याहारेषु जहौ लीलां न मयूरः..... ॥

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of many others. From this Poetic Introduction, we further learn that **दण्डी** was a great-grandson of **भारवि** who has been described here as a contemporary of kings **दुर्विनीत** and **सिंहविष्णु**. These monarchs were great ruling kings about 580 A.C. Thus it appears quite reasonable to infer that **दण्डी**, being fourth in descent from **भारवि**, must have belonged to the last quarter of the 7th or the begining of the 8th Century. This statement finds an additional support from the fact that **दण्डी** has not only praised **बाणभट्ट** but has narrated the story of **कादम्बरी** along with other episodes in his **कथा** and this narration seems to be an accurate reproduction of the tale as is found in the **पूर्वार्द्ध** of **बाण**'s **कादम्बरी**. It is a well known fact that **बाण** belonged to the court of **हर्षवर्धन** who reigned from 606 to 648 A.C. A northern poet cannot be expected to have achieved in a decade or two, in those days of hard communication, so much fame as to merit such a high praise from a critic of the South.

It may be further shown on a most reliable authority that **भामह** must have lived before **बाण**. **आनन्दवर्धन** in hsi **ध्वन्यालोक**,[1] while asserting that the same idea, though already expressed by one poet, appears new and charming when put in a suggestive garb by another poet, points out a case where **बाणभट्ट**, drawing upon an idea expressed by **भामह** in one of his verses of **काव्यालङ्कार**, writes a prose

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1. तथा विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यस्यैव शब्दशक्त्युद्भवानुरणनरूपव्यङ्ग्यप्रकार-समाश्रयेण नवत्वम्। यथा 'वरणीवारणायाधुना त्वं शेषः' (हर्षचरित VI. para 15 of Kane's edition) इत्यादौ 'शेषा हिमगिरिस्त्वं च महान्तो गुरवः स्थिराः। यदब्रूंवितमर्यादाश्चलन्ती विभ्रते भुवम्' (काव्यालङ्कार III 27.) इत्यादौ सत्स्वपि तस्यैवार्थशक्त्युद्भवानुरणनरूपव्यङ्गसमाश्रयेण नवत्वम्।—ध्वन्यालोक, उद्योत IV p.236.

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passage in हर्षचरित. It is quite clear from this that आनन्द-वर्धन had positive belief which must have been based on traditions prevalent among the Kāśmirian Pandits of his day that भामह was an old and popular predecessor of बाण so that the latter could safely and honourably borrow ideas from the former. Hence unless this statement of आनन्दवर्धन is shown to militate against the verdict of accepted chronology bearing on the question (as is quite unlikely) the fact of भामह's priority can never be challenged.

With due deference to those who hold that भामह and दण्डी are chronologically very near to and not far removed from each other, we may be permitted to observe here, in passing, that to us it does not appear to be the fact. भामह most probably belonged to Kāśmir and दण्डी undoubtedly hailed from the South. It cannot be imagined that the writers so far removed could vie with each other in those days. It cannot be denied that दण्डी, with an evident criticising mood, tries to eclipse the work of भामह by his own. This case is somewhat like भारवि and माघ who, though not far removed in space, were, in time, far away from each other. This point can be further borne out by the linguistic evidence. The प्राकृतs had not, perhaps, been so much in vogue in the time of भामह as they were in the time of दण्डी. Perhaps सेतुबन्ध which finds such a high and merited eulogy from दण्डी had not yet been written. भामह makes no linguistic division of काव्य as दण्डी does. If it could be proved that the प्राकृतमनोरमा, the oldest commentary on वररुचि's प्राकृतप्रकाश, was from the pen of this very भामह, the author of काव्यालङ्कार, it might be held to have been the oldest work on Prakrit Grammar, next only to वररुचि, the author of the सूत्रs it comments upon. In this connection it may be pointed out that the later महाराष्ट्री—not to say

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the other dialects—does not wholly conform to the rules of **वररुचि** as explained by **भामह** and that the later commentators, **वसन्तराज** and others, have tried to explain the **सूत्र**s in a much more comprehensive way. Howsoever it may be, it is undoubtedly clear that the picture of society found in the work of **भामह**—faintly drawn though it may be—can be clearly distinguished from what we find depicted in the **काव्यादर्श** of **दण्डी**. The poetic luminaries so familiar to the eyes of **भामह**'s age had, by the time of **दण्डी**, totally disappeared from the horizon. The elegant simplicity of the earlier Muse had not as yet hardened into sentimental ideas and artistic expressions. The sharp controversies ranging between the Buddhists and the Hindus in the time of **भामह**, had led to the study of the science and art of Polemics, so that even a work on Poetics was expected to take the topics into consideration. But the atmosphere seems to have wholly changed by the time of **दण्डी**. The heroes of popular stories were yet fresh in the memory of the people. Coming to the field of Poetics itself, we find not a few points of contrast along with those of similarity in the works of these two authors. There is no use enlarging upon this topic, for, it can become obvious to even a casual reader of the said works. We feel, therefore, inclined to believe that **भामह** was seperated from **दण्डी** not by decades but by centuries.

भामह and धर्मकीर्ति.

We have shown above that on the evidence of **आनन्दवर्धन** in **ध्वन्यालोक**, **भामह** cannot be placed later than **बाण** who flourished in the first half of the 7th century; but this view is seriously challenged by the hypothesis that **भामह** has borrowed some logical topics from **धर्मकीर्ति**. Dr. Jacobi has discussed this point at some length and in

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that connection has considered the date of धर्मकीर्ति. He places धर्मकीर्ति between the sojourns in India of Houen Tsang and of Itsing. The former who travelled between 630 and 643 makes no reference to the Buddhist Logician. The latter, travelling between 671 to 695, seems clearly to have heard of him. Tārānātha[1] makes धर्मकीर्ति a contemporary of the Tibetan King Sron-tsan-gam-po who lived during 627-698 A. C. So the middle of the seventh century may be fairly taken to be the date of धर्मकीर्ति. If, however, it could be proved, as Jacobi has tried to do, that भामह had actually utilised the logical work of धर्मकीर्ति, the statement of आनन्दवर्धन would considerably lose in value and भामह would consequently have the chance of being dragged down to the 8th century at least. Let us first examine the arguments put forward therefor.

All the arguments put forward for establishing the indebtedness of भामह to धर्मकीर्ति are based upon a few points of similarity existing in their works[2]. They are only three. Let us take them one by one. भामह has given two definitions of अनुमान—

त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गतो ज्ञानमनुमानं च केचन ।
तद्विदो नान्तरीयार्थदर्शनं चापरे विदुः ॥ काव्या० V. 11

Now we know from the तात्पर्यटीका of वाचस्पतिमिश्र upon न्यायवार्तिक that the definition of अनुमान, as given here in the second half of the śloka, came originally from दिङ्नाग[3]. But what are we to say about the first difinition ? " Die

1. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, pp. 305-6.

2. See Dr. Jacobi's ' Bhāmaha und Daṇḍin ihr Alterund ihre Stellung in der indischen Poetic' in Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., XXIV, 1922, pp. 211-212.

3. See Dr. Randle's 'Fragments from Diṅnāga,' pp. 21-22.

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erste der beiden von Bhāmaha gegeben Definitionen", writes Dr. Jacobi, "mutz also von einem andern Philosophen herrühren". And who is that another philosopher? It is **धर्मकीर्ति**—says Dr. Jacobi, for, at one place of his **न्यायबिन्दु**, we read **अनुमानं द्विधा स्वार्थं परार्थं च, तत्र स्वार्थं त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गाद्द यदनुमेये ज्ञानं तदनुमानम्।**

In this case as well as in the cases following, the question, which we are to put to ourselves, should be whether a particuliar view— **लिङ्गस्य त्रैरूप्यम्** for instance—is peculiar with someone or is common to many. Such an argument can have any weight only when the view concerned is original. Unfortunately we do not find any such thing in the present case. **लिङ्गस्य त्रैरूप्यम्** is a too well-known thing with our **नैयायिक**s to have originated with **धर्मकीर्ति**. It is quite sufficient for our purpose here to show that it was known even to **दिङ्नाग**. Thanks to the labours of the late lamented Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, we can have some knowledge of **दिङ्नाग**'s works. **दिङ्नाग** in his **प्रमाणसमुच्चय** spoke of **स्वार्थानुमान** thus[1]: An inference for one's self (svārthānumāna, raṅ-don-gyi-rjeṣ-ḍpag) is defined as the knowledge of a thing derived through its mark or sign of three characters. Will it not, when turned into Sanskrit, read somewhat exactly like the extract from **न्यायबिन्दु** of **धर्मकीर्ति** cited above? In this connection we are to note one thing more. The way in which **भामह** gives this definition along with that of **दिङ्नाग**, does not only show that it came from some other source, but also to the fact that it formed an earlier and more commonly accepted view. Besides **प्रमाणसमुच्चय**, we have a clear description of **लिङ्गस्य त्रैरूप्यम्** in **न्यायप्रवेश**.[2] Whoever might be the

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1. See Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, p. 280.
2. This work has been so long known only through Tibetan

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author of this work,[1] none has so far tried to prove that it was written after धर्मकीर्ति. Thus we see that भामह was not in any way indebted to धर्मकीर्ति for his knowledge of लिङ्गस्य त्रैरूप्यम्. We are very much inclined to think that he had not to thank even दिङ्नाग for, at least, this section of Indian Logic. He might have probably derived his knowledge from some earlier logician.

The other statement of भामह which has been said to correspond with that of धर्मकीर्ति is दूषणं न्यूनताद्युक्तिः (काव्या०-V. 28). धर्मकीर्ति has दूषणानि न्यूनताद्युक्तिः[2]। The similarity is indeed striking. But the question again comes up: Is it an original idea of धर्मकीर्ति? The same question may be raised with regard to the third corresponding statement of भामह—जातयो दूषणाभासाः (काव्या०-V. 29). Does धर्मकीर्ति propound a new theory when he says दूषणाभासास्तु जातयः[3]? In both the above cases, धर्मकीर्ति does not appear to have anything peculiar to himself. The दूषणs and जातिs have been known to earlier writers

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Texts. Fortunately it is now going to be published by Principal A. B. Dhruva in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. We owe our knowledge of it to the kindness of Principal Dhruva.

For the three characteristics of the Middle Term (लिङ्गस्य त्रैरूप्यम्) as found in न्यायप्रवेश, see History of Indian Logic, p. 291.

1. The question is a mooted one. We postpone its discussion for the time being.

2. न्यायबिन्दु, (Peterson's Edn.) III. 138.
Benares Edn. reads दूषणा न्यूनताद्युक्तिः. See p. 132.

3. न्यायबिन्दु, Peterson's Edn. III. 140; Benares Edn. p. 133.

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as well[1]. In **न्यायप्रवेश** we have similar descriptions of **दूषण**s and **जाति**s[2].

Mr. P. V. Kāṇe[3], who, as has been noted before, pointed out the similarity existing between the works of **भामह** and **धर्मकीर्ति**, quite independently of Dr. Jacobi, has cited another śloka from **भामह**'s **काव्यालङ्कार**, appearing somewhat exactly like a passage in **धर्मकीर्ति**'s **न्यायबिन्दु**. **भामह**'s śloka reads thus;

सत्त्वादयः प्रमाणाभ्यां प्रत्यक्षमनुमा च ते ।
असाधारणसामान्यविषयत्वं तयोः किल ॥ काव्या०-V. 5

धर्मकीर्ति writes thus:

द्विविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च (p. 10). **तस्य विषयः स्वलक्षणं** (p. 21).....**अन्यत् सामान्यलक्षणं** (p. 24) **सोऽनुमानस्य विषयः** (p. 25). Now it may be again pointed out here that this division and definition of **प्रमाण**s has not originated with **धर्मकीर्ति**. Almost all the logicians who were opposed to **अक्षपाद** (who propounded four **प्रमाण**s) had mostly a similar view. **दिङ्नाग**, for instance, in his **प्रमाणसमुच्चय** (ch. 1) states that pramāṇas are only two, *viz.*, perception and inference. All objects being known through them, there is no other **प्रमाण**. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa has restored the Sanskrit original thus:

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1. They are too well-known to require much argumentation for establishing their existence before **धर्मकीर्ति**. In this connection it will be, however, interesting to refer to a **न्यायसूत्र** of **गौतम** (1-2-18) and **वात्स्यायन**'s **भाष्य** thereon. The sutra is **साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां प्रत्यवस्थानं जातिः**. **वात्स्यायन** comments upon it thus:—**प्रयुक्ते हि हेतौ यः प्रसङ्गो जायते सा जातिः । स च प्रसङ्गः साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां प्रत्यवस्थानमुपालम्भः प्रतिषेध इति ।..... .....प्रत्यनीकभावाज्जायमानोऽर्थो जातिरिति ।**

2. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, p. 298.

3. Introduction to his Edn. of **साहित्यदर्पण**, p. XL.

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प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च प्रमाणं हि द्विलक्षणम् ।
प्रमेयं तत्र सिद्धं हि न प्रमाणान्तरं भवेत् ॥

It will be seen from the above that all those passages from धर्मकीर्ति, which have been cited as originals of भामह's ślokas, have no originality with themselves. They represent views which were quite well-known even before the birth of the Buddhist logician. Under such circumstances one cannot safely argue that भामह was indebted to धर्मकीर्ति and to nobody else. Dr. Jacobi is not such a superficial scholar as to be convinced of भामह's indebtedness to धर्मकीर्ति simply upon the basis of accidental similarity of views. We presume that it was the partial similarity of phraseology too, which led him to entertain such a view. But to our mind, the similariy of phraseology in the present case is not so very significant. Striking similarity is seen only in the sentences which deal with दूषणs and जातिs. But there again, we cannot say that धर्मकीर्ति was the first person to use them. With equal force, we may say that it was भामह who wrote them first of all. We see no absurdity in it. If शान्तरक्षित, philosopher as he was, did not find it inconvenient to repeat the phraseology of our poetician, we see no reason why धर्मकीर्ति would not do the some, if he could find something handy, cut and dried, from him.

What we want to emphasise very particularly is simply this that the similarity of phraseology, even if it could be proved to exist beyond doubt, will not by itself be of much use. In such a case, there are three alternatives possible, each of which being equally tenable. Now with regard to the topic in question, unless and until more definite evidence is forthcoming, none can be justified in claiming that भामह borrowed views and phraseology from धर्मकीर्ति. It may be

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equally cogent to say that धर्मकीर्ति was indebted to भामह or both of them had utilised some common source.

As far as we are aware, Dr. Jacobi did not point out any other line of evidence which could further support his assumption. "Diese Entlehungen Bhāmahas" says the great orientalist, "aus Dharmakīrtis Nyāyabindu beweisen, dass er jünger als dieser, wenn auch vielleicht nur ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse desselben, war". But how has the indebtedness of भामह been proved? There he writes thus: "Nun lautet Dharmakīrtis Definition, Nyāyabindu II. 3: tatra trirūpāllingād yad anumeye jñānaṃ, tad anumānaṃ so ähnlich der Bhāmaha von gegebenen, dass kaum noch ein Zweifel darüber bestehen kann, woher letzterer sie genommen hat. Noch deutlicher zeigen uns das Bhāmaha Definitionen der dūṣaṇas und der jātis in V. 28." This is the sum and substance of all his statements in this connection. We really wonder how such a veteran scholar as Dr. Jacobi, with such faulty and inadequate premises, could jump to such a momentous conclusion. Mr. P. V. Kāṇe, with characteristic cautiousness of a lawyer, did not, though suggesting the same line of argument, commit himself in any way. He is perhaps more inclined to suggest भामह's indebtedness to दिङ्नाग, if he could only prove it. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Jacobi's hypothesis is not now meeting with that universal approbation which it was at first expected to do. It has been called in question by Dr. J. Nobel[2] and quietly ignored by Dr. B. Bhaṭṭāchārya[3].

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1. See his Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XL.
2. 'Die Avantisundarīkathā', Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistic, Bd. V, p. 150.
3. Foreword to शान्तरक्षित's तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह (G. O. S. XXX), pp. LXXIX—LXXX.

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The best way for determining whether भामह was indebted to धर्मकीर्ति or not, would have been perhaps the comparison of भामह's views with the peculiar views of धर्मकीर्ति. It is known to all who know anything of mediaeval logic that धर्मकीर्ति, though a follower of दिङ्नाग, did not adopt his views *in toto*. The peculiarities of धर्मकीर्ति have been carefully noted by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa[1] and a reference to these will surely make it clear that no special view of the Buddhist logician has been represented in the work of भामह. On the contrary, there are indications which point diametrically to the opposite side. We may just refer to some of them. The definition of प्रत्यक्ष, as given by दिङ्नाग, is प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्[2]। To this an important addition is made by धर्मकीर्ति by saying प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम्[3]. Now the term अभ्रान्तं is not such as can be ignored by any person coming after him. दिङ्नाग's definition was rather too general and consequently could be interpreted to apply to everything, so that everything will be प्रत्यक्ष. उद्योतकर did actually interpret it in this way[4]. To avoid this contingency, धर्मकीर्ति added अभ्रान्तं which made it clear that by प्रत्यक्ष, we were to mean here प्रत्यक्षज्ञानं and nothing else. Who will indulge in such an inexactitude

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1. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, pp. 315—318.

2. वाचस्पतिमिश्र in his तात्पर्यटीका, while commenting upon 'अपरे तु मन्यन्ते प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमिति,' begins, 'सम्प्रति दिङ्नागस्य लक्षणमुपन्यस्यति अपर इति। See also Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, pp. 276—277 and Dr. Randle's Fragments from Dinnāga, pp. 8—10.

3. See न्यायबिन्दु (Benares Edn.), p. 11.

4. He takes it as स्वरूपतो न व्यपदेश्यम्।

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when once it has been so pointed out? भामह gives two definitions of प्रत्यक्ष in a single line. It is—

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततोऽर्थादिति केचन—काव्या० V.6.

one of the two definitions—the first of them—belongs, on the authority of वाचस्पति मिश्र, to दिङ्नाग and the second, on the same authority, to वसुबन्धु[1], the teacher of दिङ्नाग. Now can it be imagined that भामह could have afforded to leave out धर्मकीर्ति's definition, had he been aware of it? Besides, कल्पना is defined by धर्मकीर्ति in a strikingly different way. According to him कल्पना is अभिलापसंसर्गयोग्यप्रतिभास-प्रतीतिः[2]. But उद्योतकर, while discussing दिङ्नाग's definition of प्रत्यक्ष, says: 'अथ केयं कल्पना? नामजातियोजनेति। यत् किल न नाम्नाभिधीयते न च जात्यादिभिर्व्यपदिश्यते।'[3] वाचस्पति-मिश्र calls it लक्षणवादिनामुत्तरम्[4]. Now the लक्षणवादीs must be दिङ्नाग and all those who had a similar view. We may presume that भामह was also one of them—at least conversant with the view—for he says कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रति-जानते-काव्या० V. 6. It may be admitted that धर्मकीर्ति's definition of कल्पना is more academic in tone exactly as his definition of प्रत्यक्ष is more exact in expression. If भामह could afford to give two views on an important issue, he would not, we think, mind to give a third one also, if it was more useful and suitable, as धर्मकीर्ति's definitions indeed are.

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1. वाचस्पतिमिश्र begins his comment upon 'अपरे पुनर्वर्णयन्ति ततोऽर्थाद् विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम्। तदेवं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं समर्थ्य वासुबन्धवं तावत् प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं विकल्पयितुमुपन्यस्यति-ता० p. 99. See also Dr. Randle's Fragments from Dinnāga, p.12—13.

2. न्यायबिन्दु, p. 13.

3. न्यायवार्तिक, p. 44.

4. तात्पर्यटीका, p. 102.

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One thing more should be noted in this connection. As far as we know, धर्मकीर्ति has nowhere in his extant works shown any regard to the views of वसुबन्धु, though his pupil, दिङ्नाग, is his great authoritative source. But भामह has referred to the views of the older logician in unmistakable language. May we not assume with probability that, by the time of धर्मकीर्ति, वसुबन्धु had been somewhat eclipsed by his decidedly abler pupil? It is quite possible that भामह lived in an age when वसुबन्धु was not so forgotten. He still commanded respectful attention from scholars along with दिङ्नाग.

It will be undoubtedly quite profitable to give here the results of a detailed comparison of these works; but we are afraid the space at our disposal will not permit it. We may, in passing, just note a few points. भामह has six पक्षाभासs[1] but धर्मकीर्ति has only four.[2] If we were to look into न्यायप्रवेश we shall find no less than nine.[3] But what is very interesting to note is that some of the definitions and examples of भामह wholly correspond with those in न्यायप्रवेश। दृष्टान्त is included by धर्मकीर्ति in त्रिरूपहेतु[4] but भामह takes it separately[5] exactly as we find it in न्यायप्रवेश and प्रमाणसमुच्चय। In न्यायप्रवेश and प्रमाणसमुच्चय we further find दृष्टान्त divided into two classes according to the way they are possible either by साधर्म्य or वैधर्म्य[6]। This is also the case with भामह। But धर्मकीर्ति has

1. काव्यालङ्कार, v. 13-20.
2. न्यायबिन्दु, pp. 84-85.
3. न्यायप्रवेश—See in the History of Indian Logic, pp. 290-291
4. त्रिरूपो हेतुरुक्तः। तावतैवार्थप्रतीतिरिति न पृथग् दृष्टान्तो नाम साधनावयवः कश्चित्। तेन नास्य लक्षणं पृथगुच्यते—न्यायबिन्दु, p. 117.
5. काव्यालङ्कार, v. 21, v. 26-27.
6. History of Indian Logic, pp. 286-7, 295—6. In these

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no such division. The few points, noted above, are quite sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person that भामह's borrowing from धर्मकीर्ति is any thing but possible.

Even if these points were not available, we could have shown that भामह's coming after धर्मकीर्ति cannot be imagined. धर्मकीर्ति, as shown above, lived about 650 A. C. and hailed from the South of India. शान्तरक्षित lived in Bengal in the beginning of the 8th century. Now, we cannot, with any stretch of our imagination, conceive that within half a century such a progress could be possible in those days of hard communication. धर्मकीर्ति becomes sufficiently famous, his works are carried to Kashmir, there भामह utilises them for writing his own work, then he also becomes well-known, his work reaches Bengal and is devoured by शान्तरक्षित—and all this was accomplished within half a century ! It seems to be hardly possible. We have no reason, therefore, to doubt आनन्दवर्द्धन's statement that बाण was acquainted with भामह's work, so that 600 A.C. can be safely taken to be the lower limit of भामह's date.

But what should be his upper limit ? The fore-going discussion has shown that भामह was familiar with the views, which are, on the authority of वाचस्पतिमिश्र, ascribed to दिङ्नाग । We have further shown that his views sometimes correspond with those which are found in न्यायप्रवेश । Nanjio[1] and Takakusu[2] ascribe this work to नागार्जुन । But Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭāchārya thinks that Nanjio " has

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cases resemblance in phraseology is also to be noted. धर्मकीर्ति has, however, got such a division in दृष्टान्ताभास.

1. Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, p. 270, Nos. 1223, 1224.

2. A Record of the Buddhist Religion by Itsing, pp. 177, 186.

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made a mistake in rendering the name into Sanskrit. The name, as given in Chinese in the book itself, is Yü luṅ, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is Diṅnāga."[1] But, according to Sugiura[2] and Ui,[3] न्यायप्रवेश is attributed by the Chinese tradition to शङ्करस्वामी। दिङ्नाग's work, according to this view, was न्यायद्वार, quite distinct from न्यायप्रवेश. Dr. Randle[4] sees 'no reason to doubt the correctness of the Chinese attribution of the न्यायद्वार to Diṅnāga. That being the case, it is impossible that Diṅnāga should have been the author of न्यायप्रवेश.' But we see no reason to doubt the correctness of the Tibetan attribution of the न्यायप्रवेश to दिङ्नाग। If that be the case, it is impossible that any other person but दिङ्नाग should have been the author of the न्यायप्रवेश। Besides many cogent arguments so ably put forward by Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭāchārya[5] for proving that न्यायप्रवेश was the work of दिङ्नाग, one thing appears to turn the scale to a very great extent. It is a curious fact that शङ्करस्वामी was not known to either Houen Tsang or Itsing. The Tibetan texts are quite ignorant of his name. The Tibetan translation of the Chinese translation of न्यायप्रवेश clearly shows that at that time even the Chinese did not know of शङ्करस्वामी। It is really inexplicable how they came, later on, to associate his name with न्यायप्रवेश। There seems to be some baffling confusion, lurking somewhere or other. Unless and until this mystery is cleared up, we shall not know the real ground of its attribution by the

1. 'The Nyāya Praveśa of Diṅnāga,' Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, p. 154.
2. Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan, pp. 36–37.
3. Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, p. 68.
4. Fragments from Diṅnāga, p. 61.
5. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 154–159.

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Chinese to शङ्करस्वामी। But so far as the Tibetan Text,[1] as edited by Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭāchārya, is concerned, it is more than probable that it is the work of दिङ्नाग। The learned editor has compared it with the Chinese and Sanskrit Versions and does not perhaps find material difference between them. So what is said of the Tibetan version with regard to its authorship, may be, therefore, true of other versions as well.[2] We have every hope that this puzzling enigma will be cleared up by Principal Dhruva's Introduction to the Sanskrit Version of the न्यायप्रवेश[3]।

It does not, however, matter much for us even if शङ्करस्वामी was to be proved the author of न्यायप्रवेश। He is said to have been the pupil of दिङ्नाग and consequently must have been his younger contemporary. So when we find clear resemblance of certain views and expressions in भामह's work from the works of दिङ्नाग and न्यायप्रवेश, we can, without hesitation, say that दिङ्नाग's date will furnish the upper limit to भामह's age.

The date of दिङ्नाग depends upon the date of his teacher, वसुबन्धु। Nanjio informs us that कुमारजीव wrote a life of वसुबन्धु[4] between A. C. 401 and 409 and परमार्थ, who lived between A.C. 499 and 560, wrote another.[5] From

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1. Gaekwad Oriental Series, XXXIX Part II.

2. Dr. N. D. Minorov contributes a paper on 'Diṅnāga's Nyāya Praveśa and Haribhadra's commentary on it,' to the volume presented to Dr. Garbe. We have not as yet seen it, but from the title we may assume that he is also inclined to attribute न्यायप्रवेश to दिङ्नाग।

3. G. O. S. XXXIX Part I.

4. Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, app. I. 64.

5. Ibid No. 1463.

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परमार्थ[1] we know that वसुबन्धु was a contemporary of विक्रमादित्य, who is identified by V. A. Smith[2] with Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta Dynasty. If this line of argument is followed, as has been done by V. A. Smith[3] and M. Peri[4], वसुबन्धु, who died, it is said, at the age of 80, will be found to have been living between 280-360 A.C. But unfortunately all scholars are not at one. Different scholars assign different dates to वसुबन्धु। The other most important view is that which places him between 420—500 A. C.[5] But the majority of the scholars[6] appears to be inclined towards the former view. Undoubtedly that view appears, to say the least, much more probable. If we were to subscribe to the other view, the whole subsequent chronology becomes awfully disturbed. Then we have to look upon कुमारजीव's 'Life of Vasubandhu' as a myth and disbelieve the traditions which make वसुबन्धु one of the Patriarchs and his work as having been translated into Chinese by कुमारजीव।

So we have seen above that there is every probability of वसुबन्धु having lived between 280 and 360 A. C. Now दिङ्नाग, being his pupil, must have been his junior contemporary and so must have lived somewhere before 400. Now, if 400 A. C. is to be the approximate date of दिङ्नाग, that date must also be considered to furnish the upper limit to भामह's date. We may, therefore, safely say

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1. Takakusu, J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 44.
2. Early History of India, 3rd Edn., p. 320.
3. Ibid, pp. 328 ff.
4. Bull. de l.' Ecole francaise d' Extreme-orient, XI. 355 ff.
5. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, pp. 266—267.
6. Keith—Indian Logic and Atomism, p. 98, Buddhist Philosophy p. 155; B. Bhaṭṭāchārya's Foreword to तत्त्वसंग्रह (G. O. S. XXX) pp. LXVI—LXXX.

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that भामह must have lived between the dates of दिङ्नाग and बाण, viz., between 400 and 600 A. C.

If we wish to be a little more exact with regard to the date of भामह, we should try to find out whether he was nearer to दिङ्नाग or to धर्मकीर्ति। We have already shown that his views correspond much more with those of दिङ्नाग than those of धर्मकीर्ति। We have further shown that he was living in an age when the old teachers were not as yet forgotten. This fact can be further borne out by a careful comparison of his work with the extant works of those teachers. At some places he has referred the reader for details to other works which are not found perhaps in दिङ्नाग's works. We have further to take into consideration that भामह's fame must have taken some time for becoming so much ripe as to induce a poet of Kanouj, as बाण indeed was, to become acquainted with the work of the great Kashmirian. If we may be permitted to allow a century for it, we shall be, we thihk, not wrong in placing भामह before 500 A. C. But the way he writes, the atmosphere he breathes, the company he keeps,—all these leave us still unsatisfied. We are very much tempted to think that he was not far removed from दिङ्नाग, though we cannot positively prove it by direct evidence. The fifth chapter of his काव्यालङ्कार, teeming so much with philosophical logic, rather smacking much more, as it were, of polemics, makes us believe that he was living in an age which was permeated with debate and controversy in every quarter. Such a period in Indian History was possible only with such scholars as दिङ्नाग। We know from accounts[1], preserved here and

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1. Lama Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schierfner, pp. 130—135; Vidyābhūṣṇa's History of Indian Logic, pp. 272–274.

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there, that the great आचार्य spent his whole life in vehement शास्त्रार्थ—heated controversy and debate. He was known in his times as तर्कपुङ्गव or a fighting bull. But such an age did not last for a long time. By the time of दण्डी, न्यायनिर्णय or settling the logic of poetry, which was considered so very necessary an appendage in a work on Poetics by भामह, came to be considered as a useless कर्कशविचार[1]। Even in the time of बाण, we find no indication of the continuation of दिङ्नाग's age of passionate debate and heated controversy. Further, no indication to that effect has been furnished even by the 5th and 6th century inscriptions of the Guptas. Thus we are not far wrong in believing that that age of controversy almost came to an end with दिङ्नाग। Hence we may conclude that भामह was either a contemporary of or came immediately after दिङ्नाग, who, we know, became widely known throughout the country on account of his incessant wanderings on controversy tours.[2] Consequently we may state that भामह was, with all probability, living about 400 A. C. or, if न्यायप्रवेश happens to be proved the work of शंकरस्वामी, a few years later.

भामह's WORKS

It is indeed very difficult—if not wholly impossible—to determine whether our author had written any other work besides the well-known काव्यालङ्कार। We find, no doubt, the name of भामह associated with certain quotations which are not traceable in the काव्यालङ्कार। राघवभट्ट, in his commentary, अर्थद्योतनिका, on अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल, quotes twice in the name of भामह extracts which are nowhere to be found in the काव्यालङ्कार। One of them appears to have

1. विचारः कर्कशः प्रायस्तेनालीढेन किं फलम्–काव्यादर्श
2. Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner.

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been taken from a work on Metrics[1] and the other from some work on Poetics[2]. The latter sentence, curiously enough, is met with, with slight modifications, in the **अलङ्कारसारसंग्रह** of **उद्भट** and its example in **काव्यप्रकाश**। Some ślokas are quoted by **नारायणभट्ट** in his commentary on **वृत्तरत्नाकर** in the name of **भामह**। These seem to have been taken from a work on Metrics[3].

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1. क्षेमं सर्वगुरुर्दत्ते मगणो भूमिदैवतः इति भामहोक्तेः p. 4. (नि० सा० edition).
2. तल्लक्षणमुक्तं भामहेन—पर्यायोक्तं प्रकारेण यदन्येनाभिधीयते। वाच्यवाचकशक्तिभ्यां शून्येनावगमात्मना । इति । उदाहृतं च हयग्रीववधस्थं पद्यं 'यं प्रेक्ष्य चिरूढापि निवासप्रीतिरुज्झिता। मदेनैरावणमुखे मानेन हृदये हरेः' इति। p. 10.
3. तदुक्तं भामहेन—

अवर्णात् सम्पत्तिर्भवति मुदिवर्णाद्धनशता-
न्युवर्णादख्यातिः सरभसमृवर्णाद्धिरहितात्।
तथा ह्येचः सौख्यं ङ्ञणरहितादक्षरगणात्
पदादौ विन्यासात् भरबहलहाहाविरहितात् ॥

वृत्तरत्नाकर, p. 6 (Benares Edition).

तदुक्तं भामहेनैव—

देवतावाचकाः शब्दा ये च भद्रादिवाचकाः।
ते सर्वे नैव निन्द्याः स्युर्लिपितो गणतोऽपि वा ॥
कः खो गो घश्च लक्ष्मीं वितरति वियशो ङस्तथा चः सुखं छः
प्रीतिं जो मित्रलाभं भयमरणकरौ झञौ टठौ खेददुःखे।
डः शोभां ढो विशोभां भ्रमणमथ च णस्तः सुखं थश्च युद्धं
दो धः सौख्यं मुदं नः सुखभयमरणक्लेशदुःखं पवर्गः ॥
यो लक्ष्मीं रश्च दाहं व्यसनमथ लवौ शः सुखं षश्च खेदं
सः सौख्यं हश्च खेदं विलयमपि च लः क्षः समृद्धिं करोति।
संयुक्तं चेह न स्यात् सुखमरणपटुर्वर्णविन्यासयोगः
पद्यादौ गद्यवक्त्रे वचसि च सकले प्राकृतादौ समोऽयम् ॥

वृत्तरत्नाकर p. 7.

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Besides these extracts, coming down to us in the name of **भामह**, presumably taken from works now wholly lost, we have a well-known commentary on **प्राकृतप्रकाश**, the Prakrit Grammar written in sutras by **वररुचि**. It is called **प्राकृतमनोरमा** and is considered to be the oldest commentry now extant[1].

We have no direct evidence to prove or disprove that it was the author of **काव्यालङ्कार** who wrote the works referred to above. Who can say if there were not several persons bearing the same common appellation? But it is not every person bearing a similar name who is equally famous. The author of the **प्राकृतमनोरमा**, however, has been identified by somewith the writer of **काव्यालङ्कार**. Dr. Pischel[2] following Peterson[3] did not even doubt, that the two **भामह**s might be different. He says—"Der. älteste commentator is Bhāmaha, ein Kaschmirer, der auch Rhetor und Dichter war." As far as we can see, their opinion seems to have been based upon the hearsay of the Pandits. Howsoever reliable their views may be, we would very much wish that they were backed by historical evidence, so that they could be pronounced as perfectly definite. But it appears at the same time simply impossible to believe that such a versatile scholar, as the author of **काव्यालङ्कार** seems to have been, could have remained perfectly idle before or after the writing of his brilliant work on Rhetoric. So, in a word, we do not find ourselves in a position to pronounce any definite opinion either this way or that way.

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1. Pischel's Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, p. 35.
2. Ibid.
3. **सुभाषितावली**, p. 79; See also Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum and Pischel's Rudrata p, 6 f.

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काव्यालङ्कार.

We wish very much that we could discuss thoroughly and examine critically the learned and interesting contents of the **काव्यालङ्कार**, but the consideration of space does not permit us to enlarge upon this topic at any great length. It is enough to remember here that **भामह** has divided his work into six **परिच्छेद**s or sections treating of five topics. They are as under—

1. **काव्यशरीर**. To this section 60 verses have been devoted. They dispose of a few general questions about poetry, its use, definition, etc ;

2. **अलङ्कार**s. This topic consists of the definitions and illustrations of the Figures of Speech. It is interesting to meet here with a few names of poets who are now wholly unknown. This portion covers 160 verses ;

3. **दोष**s. Here **भामह** discusses the demerits of poetic compositions in 50 verses ;

4. **न्यायनिर्णय**—Here he tries to settle the logical foundation of poetry. Really speaking, this section and the section following form parts of the discussions on the demerits of compositions. But as Logic and Grammar appear to have been reigning supreme in his days, the author was led to devote, unlike many others, special sections to them. This section has for its share 70 verses ;

5. **शब्दशुद्धि**—Here the author tries to instruct the would-be poets to take care of and avoid the grammatical mistakes which are ever so prone to creep in. This section has 60 verses[1].

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1. **भामह** himself has summed up the whole thing at the end of his **काव्यालङ्कार**—

षष्ट्या शरीरं निर्णीतं शतषष्ट्या त्वलङ्कृतिः।
पञ्चाशता दोषदृष्टिः सप्तत्या न्यायनिर्णयः ॥

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भामह—His Place in the History of Sanskrit Poetics.

We have seen, at the very outset, in what a great esteem **भामह** has all along been held by almost all the great writers on Sanskrit Poetics. He is found quoted in the works of **उद्भट, वामन, कुन्तक, आनन्दवर्धन, अभिनवगुप्त, मम्मट** and many others of different times and divergent views. With equal regard he has been often referred to by such writers of eminence as the authors of **अलङ्कारसर्वस्व, प्रतापरुद्रीय, एकावली** and others[1]. This fact cannot but rouse a sense of inquisitiveness in our hearts to study the work of **भामह** as thoroughly as to find out his merits of such a stable and enduring attraction. But this is not an easy thing as it will necessitate a thorough review of the important Ālaṁkārika works for comparison as well as for tracing their indebtedness to our poetician. But the consideration of this topic may find a fitting place in a History of Sanskit Poetics and not in a paper like this. All that we can do is to take a brief historical survey of our subject and determine as correctly as possible the place occupied therein by **भामह**।

षष्ठ्या शब्दस्य शुद्धिः स्यादित्येवं वस्तुपञ्चकम् ।
उक्तं षड्भिः परिच्छेदैर्भामहेन क्रमेण वः ॥

For the detailed description of the contents, see Kāṇe's Introduction to **साहित्यदर्पण**, pp. XVI–XVII ; for a critical review of the contents the reader is referred to Trivedi's excellent paper "Some Notes on Bhāmaha" in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume and Dr. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, pp. 401–412.

1. For such details see Trivedi's article in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLII (1913) and also his Introduction to **प्रतापरुद्र-यशोभूषण**.

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The worship of **सरस्वती**—the service of the Poetic Muse—has been from very early times one of the favourite hobbies of the Aryan people. Even the oldest attempt at poetry by the primeval ancestors of the human race—the **ऋग्वेद**—contains many sparkling gems of genuine poetry. It appears that the Aryans had undoubtedly an artistic conception of poetry from the very beginning, for we meet even in the earliest poems, with expressions of such exquisite aesthetic charm as have been later on elaborately treated of in the works of Poetics as **अलङ्कार**s or figures of speech[1].

We find a treatment of **उपमा** in the **निरुक्त** of **यास्क**[2], who, at one place, refers to a quite workable definition of this figure given by **गार्ग्य**[3]। **यास्क** gives further such divisions of **उपमा**[4] which seem to have been the fore-runners of the subtle distinctions made later on. By the time of **पाणिनि** such technical words as **उपमान, उपमेय** etc. had become perfectly well-established[5]. We find further a reference to

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1. See ऋग्वेद I. 124. 7 ; I. 164. 20 ; I. 164. 11. See also कठोपनिषत् I. 3. 3. and मुण्डकोनिषत् II 2 3. Besides these, we may also refer to the several hymns containing charming dialogues, known as संवाद hymns found in the ऋग्वेद. See especially X. 108 ; III. 33. These hymns have been considered as the fore-runners of the Sanskrit Drama by Dr. Oldenberg and others.
2. I. 4 ; III. 13-18 ; IX. 6.
3. अथात उपमा यदतत् तत्सदृशमिति गार्ग्यः । तदासां कर्म ज्यायसा वा गुणेन प्रख्याततमेन वा कनीयांसं वाप्रख्यातं वोपमिमीते, अथापि कनीयसा ज्यायांसम् । —निरुक्त, III. 13.
4. III. 13-18; IX. 6.
5. See पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी II. 1. 55-56.; II. 3. 72.

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नटसूत्रs in the grammer of पाणिनि[1] which, whatever their character, must have had something to do with the actors. Further, tradition credits पाणिनि with the authorship of two महाकाव्यs known as पातालविजय and जाम्बवती विजय[2] though, it is still an open question whether the Gramarian and the Poet were one and the same[3]. From the वार्तिक of कात्यायन it is evident that such a division of काव्य as आख्यायिका had already come into existence[4]. पतञ्जलि, the author of the महाभाष्य on Panini's Sutras, has fortunately left manyiclues by which one can safely surmise that literary activities had been the characteristic of that age. He refers to one महाकाव्य[5] three आख्यायिकाs[6] and two नाटकs[7] by name, besides many quotations and references of undoubted literary significance[8].

These early grammatical works, as we have seen above do not fail to make us infer that the secular literature had begun to thrive somewhat luxuriantly even in the early periods of our ancient history. We find additional support to this hypothesis from the रामायण and the महाभारत which

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1. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः, IV. 3. 110. ; कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वादिनिः, IV. 3. 111.
2. Winternitz : Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Vol. III. p. 32.
3. Dr. Peterson : JBRAS, XVII (1889), 57ff, J.R.A.S. 1891, 311. ff ; Pischel : ZDMG, 39, (1885) 95 ff.; R.G. Bhandarkar, JBRAS, XVI, 344.
4. लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् on the सूत्र, अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ।
5. यत्तेन कृतं न च तेन प्रोक्तं वाररुचं काव्यम् । महाभाष्य Vol. II,p 315.
6. They are वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा and भैमरथी. महाभाष्यVol .II. p. 313.
7. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कृष्णं घातयन्ति, प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति । Vol II, p. 34 and 36.
8. Indian Historical Quarterly Vol II, pp. 464—470

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contain a very large number of highly poetic passages. Some of these are found quoted in the later authoritative works on Poetics[1].

The रामायण can be considered as a काव्य both from its form and its matter. It is deservedly called an आदिकाव्य Various dates have been assigned to these two epics by different scholars. Dr. Jacobi places रामायण in the 6th century B.C[2]. The अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य contains a number of references which clearly prove the existence of literary activities in his days[3].

It is not conceivable that with the writing of so much poetry, no speculation about the nature, function, division of poetry could have been going on side by side. That we are not wrong in indulging in such an inference can be clearly made out by looking into the काव्यs and नाटकs of अश्वघोष[4] and by the inscriptions dating 2nd century on wards.

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1. See ध्वन्यालोक, pp. 63, 125, 238 and काव्यप्रकाश, उल्लास IV
2. Dr. Jacobi : Das Ramayana
3. See Winternitz : Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Bd. III. p. 369. See also अर्थशास्त्र (Jolly and Schmidt's Edn. p. 145 f.
4. The contents of his works fully bear out the supposition that he was conversant with the dicta of अलङ्कारशास्त्र. His काव्यs are divided into सर्गs which, as required, have different metres in the end. His fragmentary dramatic work is called by himself a प्रकरण, just as his two extant काव्यs are styled as महाकाव्यs. These few points along with many other minor ones, are quite significant in the case of a Buddhist preacher. For details see Kāṇe-Indian Antiquary 1912, p. 127 ; also Winternitz—Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Vol. III, pp. 33, 34.

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The inscriptions of रुद्रदामन्[1] which may be considered beyond doubt the earliest of such literary inscriptions betray both from their form and contents their acquaintance with speculations on Poetics. Though no work has actually come down to us, we can find out from the नाट्यशास्त्र of भरत[2] and decidedly from काव्यालङ्कार of भामह[3] that a very large number of the writers on the subject had already contributed their quota for formulating regular theories of Poetics and Dramaturgy. It is not possible to determine with perfect satisfaction as to which of the two—Poetics and Dramaturgy—preceded the other. There seems to be, however, some probability that the Dramaturgy

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1. See Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII. 36. The inscription which is most useful for our purpose is found at Junagarh and dated 150 A.C. It is not only written in a poetic style of a high merit but contains many words and phrases which clearly betray their unmistakable acquaintance with some extinct works on Poetics. The following few words may be taken by way of specimen. सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन···शब्दार्थगान्धर्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारण विज्ञानप्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना·····स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्द समयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य···स्वयमधिगतमहाक्षत्रपनाम्ना नरेन्द्रकन्या स्वयंवरानेकमाल्यप्राप्तदाम्ना महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना। In this connection the Gupta Inscriptions are also of great interest.
2. The present text, even though going by the name of भरत, scarcely seems to be the work of one man. Its contents betray frequent handling and rehandling and the incorporation of matters by persons of different dates. See P. R. Bhāndārkar—Indian Antiquary Vol. XLI ; Kāṇe—Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVI.
3. Trivedi—Introduction to प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण and Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLII.

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went somewhat ahead of Poetics. The conception of a complete poetry was primarily essentially dramatic[1] and consequently Rhetoric proper fell within the folds of Dramaturgy[2]. But with the growth of literature, काव्य could not always remain subservient to drama. It claimed an independent consideration for itself, so that in course of time it began to include dramas within its own folds[3].

The history of Sanskrit Poetics can, therefore, he conveniently studied in these three stages, viz., (i) the first stage when the consideration of Rhetoric fell under Dramaturgy, (ii) the second stage when the two claimed independently separate considerations[4], (iii) the third stage when Dramaturgy came to be considered under Poetics. The first stage was characterised by the simple and the crude speculations as is quite natural for a growing science at its outset. The third stage covers the period of speculative elaboration and consequently of a relative perfection[5].

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1. See नाट्यशास्त्र, XVI, 118 (काव्यमाला Edition). The theory is upheld by वामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र I. 3. 30-32 and अभिनवगुप्त in his अभिनवभारती (Chapter VI) where he says—काव्यं तावन्मुख्यतो दशरूपकात्मकमेव।.....सर्गबन्धादौ हि नायिकाया अपि संस्कृतैवोक्तिरित्यादि बहुतरमनुचितम्।

2. The काव्य may be taken to be, according to भरत, one of the four constituents of a drama. It is called पाठ्यम् and is said to have been derived from ऋग्वेद। See नाट्यशास्त्र I, 17. It is for this reason that दोषs, गुणs, अलङ्कारs etc. claim only a partial treatment in the नाट्यशास्त्र। See नाट्यशास्त्र अध्याय XVI.

3. अग्निपुराण, Chapter 337 and साहित्यदर्पण परिच्छेद VI.

4. See भामह's काव्यालङ्कार I. 24.

5. Really speaking the conception of रस may be taken to be the determining factor of these various stages. It was at first thought that complete रसानुभूति was possible from only a dramatic work by way of a combined effect of dialogues, songs

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It was in the second stage that the real formative work was undertaken and accomplished.[1] This stage can be further considered under two sub-stages, the first of which had much to do with speculations on what is called the शरीर and the second on the आत्मा of poetry. It was आनन्द-वर्धनाचार्य, the well-known poetician of Kāshmir, who initiated and laid a firm foundation of the theory about the आत्मा of poetry, namely, ध्वनि ।

We have no data to determine the name and time of the author who, for the first time, undertook a scientific study of the शरीर of poetry. We may, however, claim

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and acting. The काव्य, even after becoming a little more independently popular, could only be thought as generating the चमत्कार of शब्द and अर्थ and not of रस । This explains why we miss the treatment of रस in the works of भामह, दण्डी, वामन and others. But with the advent of the ध्वनि School of आनन्दवर्धन, a new conception of रस stepped in and decided the fate of the later development. The रस was no more to be thought of as कार्य or ज्ञाप्य by means of a dramatic action but as व्यङ्ग्य, being suggested primarily by the words themselves. See अभिनवभारती on नाट्यशास्त्र (Chapter VI).

1. The histrionic considerations had such an upperhand over other elements that the writers in the first stage could devote neither time nor attention to a detailed study of काव्य । Theatrical managements and stage arrangements along with the treatment of अभिनय and संगीत in all their elaborately worked-out details, could neither allow them much space nor time for anything else. It has been quite natural in the growth of every science and art that as soon as it becomes liberated from a subordinate position under its genre, it begins to claim attention from all sides and consequently to achieve wide ramifications. Such has also been the case with our काव्य ।

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from the evidence of the later writers of note that the great exponent of such rhetorical speculations was no other person than the great भामह himself. There is no doubt that a number of writers on this subject[1] preceded भामह but perhaps the quality of their work as shown by the negligence shown to them by even the earlier writers of subsequent times, did not reach a very high water-mark. And it is quite natural. We cannot expect to find that scientific treatment in the infancy of a subject which becomes a necessary characteristic of it as it gradually develops. So we should not be wrong, if, from the reverence shown to भामह and negligence to his predecessors, we were to infer that the first work on Poetics written on a strictly scientific plan was that of भामह। He seems to have judiciously assimilated the material available in the writings[2] of his predecessors and with the help of a creative genius which he undoubtedly possessed, arranged them on a sound basis with due elaboration and fitting limitation. The employment of this method has been in his case, as shown by the result, an unqualified success. The views which he held, the theories which he propounded, mostly stood the test of time and criticism to such an extent that they were later on upheld by the greatest masters of the subject.

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1. भामह refers to रामशर्मा in काव्या०, II. 19, 58, to मेधावी in II 40, 88, to शाखवर्धन II. 47. We meet with a number of names which have been referred to as high authorities on Poetics in the काव्यमीमांसा of राजशेखर। Some of them are these—सुरानन्द, श्यामदेव, आपराजिति, द्रौहिणि and आनन्द। No work has come down to us under their names.

2 भामह refers to अच्युतोत्तर of रामशर्मा in II. 19, 58, to राजमित्र of शाखवर्धन in II. 45, III. 10 and to an anonymous work called रत्नाहरण in III. 8.

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It will not be, we think, out of place to take this opportunity and point out the salient features of भामह's work by referring to a few instances of such a nature.

The definition of poetry (काव्य) has all along been a matter of great controversy with the writers on Sanskrit Poetics. The easiest and the most convenient expression for denoting what broadly speaking काव्य represents has been given by भामह which is शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्[1] । It is given by मम्मट[2], the author of काव्यप्रकाश, with certain qualifications. It is in fact in these qualifications[3] that the germs of divergence, which different schools of Poetics show in point of views they propound, exist.

The same observatition may be made with regard to the divison of गुणs. The गुणs as given in भरत's नाटयशास्त्र[4] as also in the काव्यादर्श of दण्डी[5] are ten in number. वामन[6] doubles the number by assigning them both to शब्द and अर्थ । But all the later poeticians of note have had only three गुणs including all the others in them[7]. But the first person who could point out that the three गुणs—माधुर्य, ओजस् and प्रसाद —were all-in-all was भामह[8] । There has been no doubt,

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1. काव्यालङ्कार I. 16.
2. काव्यप्रकाश Chapter I.
3. See समुद्रबन्ध's commentary on अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p. 4 (Trivendrum Edn.) He writes thus...विशिष्टौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् । तद् वैशिष्टयं धर्ममुखेन, व्यापारमुखेन, व्यङ्ग्यमुखेनेति त्रयः पक्षाः etc.
4. नाटयशास्त्र p. 211 (Benares Edn.).
5. काव्यादर्श Chapter I.
6. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र
7. See काव्यप्रकाश Chapter VIII, साहित्यदर्पण Chapter VIII.
8. काव्यालङ्कार II. 1-3.

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some difference of opinion[1] regarding the meaning of these words but as far as the comprehensiveness of the division is concerned भामह's views has stood well.

The next thing which we are to note in this connection is the consideration of वक्रोक्ति by भामह । वक्रोक्ति has played an important part in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. If we were to take into consideration the various modes and forms which वक्रोक्ति has assumed in different times, it may be said to have a history of its own. It was indeed कुन्तक who made much of वक्रोक्ति and founded a new school by writing his वक्रोक्तिजीवित [2] । But as for as our knowledge goes, भामह has been the first person to speak of वक्रोक्ति । वक्रोक्ति, as treated of by भामह [3], has not exactly the same signification as it had with कुन्तक but he was undoubtedly the fore-runner of कुन्तक in recognising it at least as a vital element of poetic compositions[4].

The few instances cited above will be, it is believed, sufficient to convince any intelligent person of the high ability and genuine originality of भामह's expositions. This conviction is brought home to us with greater insistence by his clear statements [5] that he duly exercised his critical intelligence before he wrote any thing. Coupled with this high sense of real scholarship, he had, as is evident from his examples, Poetic powers of no mean order. It is indeed

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1. See काव्यप्रकाश, Chapter VIII.
2. Two Chapters of this work have been ably edited by Dr. S. K. De in Calcutta Oriental Series.
3. काव्यालङ्कार, II. 85.
4. For detailed information about वक्रोक्ति, see the learned Introduction of Dr. S. K. De to वक्रोक्तिजीवित ।
5. काव्यालङ्कार, III. 58, VI. 64.

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a rare combination that a person is gifted with profound scholarship, sound critical acumen, and with the abilities of a clear-headed logician, a clever grammarian and above all a master poet. There is no wonder, therefore, that all the writers on Sanskrit Poetics—including even the humble writers of this humble paper—should bow down their heads with a heart full of deep reverence and grateful appreciation before such an august personality.

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II.—SOME VARIANTS IN THE READINGS OF THE VAIŚEṢIKA SŪTRAS.

By Gopinath Kaviraj.

It is well known that the text of the philosophical sūtrās, as we find it to-day, is not generally free from doubtful readings. As regards the Nyāya sūtras in particular, this was noticed in very early times, and in the age of Vāchaspati Miśra I (900 A. D.) they were already in such a state of confusion that he was compelled to revise them personally and give publicity to the result of his revision in the form of a manual, called 'Nyāyasūchînibandha.' There is another work of a similar nature dealing with these sūtras, named 'Nyāyasūtroddhāra,' attributed to Vāchaspati Miśra II (1600 A. D.). If all the commentaries and glosses on these Sūtras, many of which are yet unpublished, are carefully studied a good deal of fresh light will fall upon many of the obscure questions involved and will eventually lead to a more correct determination of the sūtras.

The Sūtras of the other systems of course do not seem to have been so much muddled, but even then it is doubtless that none of them represent, so far as the textual genuineness is concerned, absolute purity of the original form. The study of these sūtras is likely to yield interesting results.

Some years ago I came in possession, for a few days only, of an apparently very old manuscript (undated) of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras. The MS. was obtained by a friend of mine from a certain private collection at Benares.* On a

* The owner of the collection being unwilling to have his name disclosed, no attempt was made by me to find it out.

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careful reading of these Sūtras I noticed several differences from the current text: (i) firstly, the readings were in several places different; (ii) secondly, some of the sūtras in the current editions were absent; (iii) thirdly, some sūtras not found in the current text were found there; and (iv) fourthly, in one case, what appears as a single sūtra in the current edition was read there as two distinct sūtras.

With these few preliminary remarks I proceed to note the differences, taking the Gujarati Edition (published in 1913) of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras as standard for purposes of reference.

CHAPTER I.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 16—द्रव्याश्रयी गुणवान् संयोगविभाग-
येर्न कारणमनपेक्ष इति गुणलक्षणम् ।

„ 17—+ + संयोगविभागेषु कारणमनपेक्षमिति ।

„ 19—यथा गुणः ।

„ 20—संयोगविभागवेगानां कर्म ।

„ 21—न द्रव्याणाम् ।

„ 24—गुणवैधर्म्म्यात्र कर्मणाम् ।

„ 25— (a) द्वित्वप्रभृतयः संख्या ।
(b) पृथक्त्वसंयोगविभागाश्च ।

This sūtra (no. 25) is counted in the MS as two separate sūtras, viz. (a) and (b), as shown above.

Sūtra 30— संयोगविभागवेगाश्च कर्मणाम् ।

The sūtra, no. 25, being split up as two sūtras, the total number of the sūtras in this section comes up to 32, rather than 31, as in the printed text.

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 1—कारणाभावाच्च, etc.

„ 5—+ + + कर्मत्वं च सामान्यं च विशेषश्च ।

„ 9—'च' is omitted.

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After the last sūtra in the printed text, i. e. after the 17th sutra, there appears a unique sūtra in the MS, viz. न तु कार्याभावाद् गुणः ।

CHAPTER II.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 1.—रूपरसगन्धवती पृथिवी ।
„ 6.—+ +द्रवता + +
„ 7.—द्रवता
„ 9.—स्पर्शश्च ।
„ 10.—इत्यदृष्टस्पर्शलिङ्गो + +
„ 14.—वायोराद्यमूर्च्छनं नानात्वे लिङ्गम् ।
„ 15—वायुसन्निकर्षे प्रत्यक्षाभावात् ।
दृष्टं लिङ्गं न विद्यते
„ 30—Absent from the manuscript.

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 1—पुष्पवस्त्रयोः सति सन्निकर्षे गन्धाप्रादुर्भावो वस्त्रे गन्धाभावलिङ्गम् ।
„ 19—+अयथारूपत्वाच्च ।

CHAPTER III.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 7— अन्य एव + +

Āhnika (ii)

„ 3—+ +एकं मनः ।
„ 10—यद् दृष्टं प्रत्यक्षमहं देवदत्तः + +
„ 17—' न तु ' is omited from the MS.
„ 21—शास्त्रसामान्याच्च ।

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CHAPTER IV.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 11.—+ +चाक्षुषाणि प्रत्यक्षाणि ।

„ 13.—+ +सर्वेन्द्रियजं ज्ञानं + +

Before the 7th sūtra of this section, as arranged in the printed edition, there appears to have been another sūtra which has now disappeared. It is quoted by Uddyotakara in his Nyāyavārtika (Benares Edition, p. 231) as—"अद्रव्यद्रव्यत्वात् परमाणावनुपलब्धिः"। This sūtra is quoted by Puṇyarāja in his Commentary on the Vākyapadîya (Vol. II, p. 180), along with, and in succession of, what now appears as the 6th Sūtra of the current text. His reading however is—"द्रव्यत्वात् परमाणावनुपलब्धिः।"

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 1.—तत् + +त्रिविधम् ।

शरीरेन्द्रियविषयसंज्ञम् ।

„ 4.—अणुसंयोगस्त्वप्रतिषिद्धो मिथः पञ्चानाम् ।

पार्थिवं तद्विशेषगुणोपलब्धेः ।

The reading मिथः पंचानां is known to Śaṅkara Miśra, but it is absent from the current text. Perhaps the sūtra पार्थिवं etc. actually existed in the earlier Sūtrapāṭha, for it is referred to in the Upaskāra and appears in this MS. It seems to have been removed by the editors, as it is found to be identical with the Nyāya Sūtra 2.1.28.

CHAPTER V.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 9.—यत्नविशेषात् + +

„ 10.—+ +पतनविशेषः ।

„ 11.—+ +वाहुकर्म (?) व्याख्यातम् ।

„ 13.—प्रयत्नाभावे + +

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Āhnika (*ii*).

Sūtra 16.—तदना + + + मनसि ।
शरीरस्य सुखदुःखाभावः संयोगः ।
कायकारणात्मकर्म व्याख्यातम् (१) ।

This last one is an additional Sūtra, altogether new, but the reading is evidently corrupt.

Sūtra 25.—गुणेन + + +

CHAPTER VI.

Āhnika (*i*).

Sūtra 1.— + + वेदः

„ 5.— + + आत्मान्तरेष्वकारणत्वात् ।

„ 12.—एतेन समविशिष्ट + + +

„ 14.—This does not appear in the MS.

Āhnika (*ii*).

Sūtra 8.—अथतस्य + + + विद्यते ।
नियमाभावाच्च ।
विद्यते वाऽर्थान्तरत्वमस्य ।

CHAPTER VII.

Āhnika (*i*).

Sūtra 2.— + + + अनित्याः ।

„ 15.— + + गुणैर्गुणाः + + ।

„ 17.— + ह्रस्वत्वदीर्घत्वे + +

„ 21.—'च' does not occur.

Āhnika (*ii*).

Sūtra 12.—This Sūtra is absent from the MS.

„ 21.—एकदिक्कालाभ्यां + +

„ 22.—कार्यापरत्वात् कारणापरत्वाच्च परत्वापरत्वे ।

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Sūtra 23.—**परत्वापरत्वाभावः** etc. (The first phrase **परत्वापरत्वयोः** is lacking in the Ms).

Sūtras 24—25.—These sūtras do not appear in the MS.

CHAPTER VIII.

Āhnika (*i*).

Sūtra 9.—**समवायिनः श्वैत्यात्** ।

श्वैत्यबुद्धेश्च श्वेते बुद्धिः ते एते कार्यकारणभूते ।

Āhnika (*i*).

„ 2.—**दृष्टे** + +

„ 5.—**भूयस्त्वात्** + + **च** ।

पृथिवी + + + **प्रकृतिः** ।

CHAPTER IX.

Āhnika (*i*).

Sūtra 7.— + + **त्वात्** ।

„ 12—The word **प्रत्यक्षं** is omitted.

Āhnika (*ii*).

„ 4.—'**करणं**' is omitted.

„ 10.—'**संस्कारदोषात्**' omitted.

CHAPTER X.

Āhnika (*ii*).

After the 8th and the 9th sūtras occurs: **अस्मदुपबुद्धिभ्यो लिङ्गसृष्टेः** । This sūtra is also quoted by Śrīdhara in the Nyāyakandalī, p. 216.

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III—HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NYĀYA VAIŚEṢIKA LITERATURE

By Gopinath Kaviraj.

(Continued from Vol. V, p. 162)

The Deccani School.

I.—Chennu Bhaṭṭa.

Chennu Bhaṭṭa, the author of a Commentary, perhaps the earliest yet extant, on Tarkabhāṣā (**तर्कभाषाप्रकाशिका**), is known to have been a native of Southern India. From the colophon of this Commentary* it appears that he was the son of one Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu, that he had an elder brother named Sarvajña and that his patron was Mahārājā Harihara, assuredly identical with the famous king Harihara II of Vijayanagara (1400 A. D.)

This Sarvajña Viṣṇu was perhaps the same scholar whom the younger Mādhava (Sāyaṇa's son) mentions as the son of Śārṅgapāṇi and as his own guru in the beginning of his Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha (verse 2) and to whom Sāyaṇa refers as the author of Vivaraṇavivaraṇa in his Śaṅkara Darśana (**तदुक्तं विवरणविवरणे सहजसर्वज्ञविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायैः**)†. Whether Sarvajña-Viṣṇu was the name which Vidyātīrtha, the chief guru (**मुख्यः गुरुः**) of Vidyāraṇya and Sāyaṇa, bore

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* इति श्रीहरिहरमहाराजपरिपालितेन सहजसर्वज्ञविष्णुदेवाराध्यतनूजेन सर्वज्ञानुजेन चिन्नभट्टेन विरचितायां तर्कभाषाप्रकाशिकायां प्रमेयादिपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः । Aufrecht. Oxf. Catalogue, p. 244a.

† See Indian Antiquary, 1916, p. 21.

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before his renunciation of the world is a question to which I am not in a position to offer any decisive reply with the data at present available to me*. But the fact that the invocatory verse—**यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदाः** &c—found in many of Sāyaṇa's and Vidyāraṇya's works occurs also in Chennu's Commentary, would appear to indicate that all these three scholars were disciples of one and the same spiritual preceptor, named Vidyātîrtha ; and the fact of Sāyaṇa's quoting Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu by name tends in my opinion against the possibility of identifying him with Vidyātîrtha.

Among the authors quoted in the Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśikā (e. g. Udayana, Kandalîkāra, Maṇḍana Miśra, Vāchaspati Miśra, Varadarāja, Vādîndra and Śālikanātha) Varadaraja may be taken to be the author of Tārkikarakṣā and Vādîndra identical with the teacher of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava.

II.—Mahādeva Puntamkar.

The most prominent student of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika philosophy at Benares towards the end of the 17th Century was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, by name Mahādeva, of the Puntāmkar family. He had been a pupil of Śrīkaṇṭha Dīkshita and on his death succeeded him as one of the leading pandits of the city. But the chief little to his place in the history of the literature consists in his successful attempt at rescuing Bhavānanda's works from the unmerited obloquy into which they had fallen, by subjecting them to a critical analysis and bringing out their real worth.

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* Reference may however be made in this connection to the illuminating paper on "Mādhavāchārya and his younger brothers" by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar in the Indian Antiquary, 1916, pp. 17-24.

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Mahādeva was the son of Mukunda*, himself a learned man, being the master of the six systems of recognised

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* Here is a geneaological table of Mahādeva's family which I have secured through the good offices of Pandit Mukunda Śāstrī of Benares, a descendant of the author:

Nīlakaṇṭha Pant

Bālo Pant

Timāji or Tryambaka Pant

Ananta Pant. Author of

(*a*) Vyaṅgyārtha Kaumudī, composed in 1646 A.D.

(*b*) Commentary on Rasamañjarī, composed in 1653 A.D. for Chandrabhānu.

(*c*) Prose version of Mudrārākṣasa.

Mukunda Pant, author of Satpadyamuktāvalī.

Mahadeva Pant

Sambhu Pant

Gaṇeśa Pant — Govinda Pant

Soma Nātha Pant. He acquired lands in 1730 Śaka or 1808 A.D.

Mukunda Pant

Gaṅgādhara — Mahādeva

Gaṇeśa

Viśvanātha — Sakhārama

Mukunda, Gaṅgādhara, Govinda, Gopīnātha, Dāmodara.

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orthodox philosophy (षट्शास्त्रतत्त्वदर्शिनम्). He was a devotee of Śiva, and like his tutor Śrīkaṇṭha, of the goddess Siddheśvarī*.

Mahādeva's time is known for certain. Among MSS himself for his own use—and the number of such MSS is a legion—I have found dates ranging from Saṃvat 1727 (= 1670 A. D.) to Saṃvat 1753 (=1696 A. D.). I place Mahādeva therefore in the second half of the 17th century.

From an entry in one of his MSS it appears that Mahādeva once went to Nadia on tour either in search of MSS or on invitation to attend some meeting of the pandits. He was in close touch with the scholars of Bengal whose learning he deeply appreciated.

His own works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Bhavānanda's

i. Dīdhitigūḍhārthaprakāśikā (=भवानन्दीप्रकाश)

This book was intended to defend Bhavānanda

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* The goddess Siddheśvarī whose temple is in the city in the quarter known after her name is an old deity of Benares, of whom mention is found in the Kāsī Khaṇḍa. It has been regularly worshipped by the family of the Maunins for the last 7 or 8 generations. The image is now mutilated. Long ago it was proposed to replace it by a new image and so an image was made and arrangements were made to set it up with due ceremony for worship. But it is said that the goddess appeared in a vision and forbade such a procedure. The old image continued to be worshipped as usual. The new one is now to be found outside in a corner on the verandah. The following dhyāna will serve as a good description of the goddess :

लालयन्तीं महासिंहं ताड़यन्तीं च माहिषम् ।
पद्मं खड्गं धारयन्तीं पालयन्तीं जगत्त्रयम् ॥

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from the attacks of the Bengali pandits to which he had been exposed*.

ii. Dīdhitigūḍhārthaprakāśikā (=सर्वोपकारिणी).† Both these are commentaries on one and the same work, one a big and the other a short one. Mahādeva himself states in the beginning of his Sarvopakāriṇī that he wrote two distinct commentaries on the Bhavānandī, of which one, being overlaid with technical minutæ, was intended for the critical students of philosophy, while the other was to serve for the beginner as a general introduction to the subject.†

(b) Laugākṣi Bhāskara's

i. Padārthaprakāśa.

B. (a) न्यायकौस्तुभ. It is an original treatise dealing with the main topics of Nyāya, containing as the author says an essence of the whole philosophy.

(b) Iśvaravāda.

(c) Navyānumitiparāmarśayoh Kāryakāraṇabhāva vichāra.

(d) Sādṛśyavāda.

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* अनालोच्य सिद्धान्त वागीशवाण्यां ? वृथा सपितैः ? पण्डितैर्गौडजातैः ।
यदुभ्माविन दूषणाभासवृन्दं तदुद्धरणार्थं ममोद्योग एषः ॥
(Beginning of Bhavānandī prakāśa).

Towards the close of the Sarvopakāriṇī Mahādeva calls the *Prakāśa* and the *Kaustubha* his two sons, and the *Sarvopakāriṇī* his daughter, begotten by his spiritual wife *Buddhi*: प्रकाश-कौस्तुभौ पुत्रावात्मजामुपकारिणीम् । बुद्धिपत्न्यामलौकिक्यां महादेवो ह्यभावयत् ॥

† भवानन्दीप्रकाशस्तु विस्तृतो रचितो मया ।
अतः संक्षेपतः कुर्वे व्याख्यां सर्वोपकारिणीम् ॥

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III. *Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha.*

Among Sannyāsins there must be a very few in number who would feel inclined to give their time and energies to the task of elucidating the dualistic doctrines of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Any work, supposed to aim a blow at the Vedāntic position, would be simply revolting in their eyes. Far from encouraging such a work by writing commentaries upon it, they would not tolerate its existence. But Bhikṣu Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha was a notable exception to this rule. Not only was he passively tolerant, with catholic indifference to all which did not concern him, but he wrote commentaries on three of the most popular and standard Nyāya works :—

(a) Udayana's
  i. Kusumāñjali Kārikās.

There is an incomplete MS of this commentary in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, where in the colophon at the end of Stavaka 3 the author is called परमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्य (Fol. 186.)

(b) Raghunātha's
  i. Tattavachintāmaṇidīdhiti.

(c) Viśvanātha's
  i. Bhāṣāparichchheda (न्यायचन्द्रिका)

Nārāyaṇa says in his Sāṅkhya Chandrikā * that he was

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* See verse 1 at the beginning.

श्रीरामगोविन्द सुतीर्थपाद कृपाविशेषादुपजातबोधम् ।
श्रीवासुदेवादधिगत्य सर्वशास्त्राणि वक्तुं किमपि स्पृहा नः ॥

Cf. also his Vedāntavibhāvanā with (Sāṅkhya Chandrikā, Ben. Sk. Series, No. 9, p. 1) Commentary and Bhakti Chandrikā (Mss belonging to Government Sanskrit Library, Benares).

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the pupil of Vāsudeva Tîrtha and disciple of Rāmagovinda Tîrtha. And he seems to have been the teacher of the famous Brahmānanda Sarasvatî, usually called by the name of Gauḍa Brahmānanda (to distinguish him from another Brahmānanda who commented on the Paribhāṣendu Śekhara) author of a series of very learned Vedantic works, including Commentaries on Madhusūdana Sarasvatî's (a) Advaita Siddhi and (b) Siddhāntatattvabindu. This is apparent from Brahmānanda's own confession in the above commentaries *.

Nārāyaṇa's age is not known for certain. The only thing that can be said is that he was later than the middle of the 17th Century, the time of Viśvanātha, on whose work he commented.

He must be earlier than 1701 A. D. (1758 Saṃ), the date of a MS of Muktāvalīprakāśa by Dinakara, belonging originally to his private collection and now deposited in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

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* Thus in his

(a) Laghu Chandrikā, com on the Advaita Siddhi :

i. श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां गुरूणां चरणस्मृतिः ।
भूयान् मे साधिकेष्टानामनिष्टानाञ्च बाधिका ॥
Intro. Verse 2 Advaita Mañjarī Ed., p. 1.

ii. श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां षटशास्त्रीपारमीयुषाम् ।
चरणौ शरणीकृत्य तीर्णः सारस्वतार्णवः ॥
Concluding Verse 2, Advaita Mañjarī Ed., p. 643.

(b) Nyāyaratnāvali.—Com. on the Siddhāntabindu.

i. श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां गुरूणां चरणाम्बुजम् ।
नमामि वाङ्मनः कायैरनन्यशरणैः सदा ॥
Concluding Verse 1, Advaita Mañjarī Ed., p. 212.

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IV.—Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa

Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, son of Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa and nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dîkṣita, is better remembered for his works on Grammar, especially for his Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa*, than for any treatises on philosophy, pure and simple. He was in a family of famous grammarians of Benares. His uncle Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita†, the author of Siddhāntakaumudî, Śabdakaustubha, Manoramā, &c. was a grammarian of the highest order, (besides being an authority in Smṛti and Vedānta) whose works in this branch of literature are still among the noblest in the field. His father Raṅgoji, however, does not seem to have been a grammarian at all. He was a Vedāntist, being the author of two interesting works on the subject, viz. Advaitachintāmaṇi and Advaitaśāstra-sāroddhāra‡.

To Nyāya Vaiśeṣika Literature Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa seldom devoted his labours. We know however of three works

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* It is said in extenuation of the many defects of this work that it was composed by the author at the early age of 22 and was not subsequently revised.

† It appears that Bhaṭṭoji became a dīkṣita, probably the first dīkṣita in the family, by initiating himself into the mysteries of the agnihotra ceremony and that his descendants (e.g. his son Bhānu dīkṣita and grandson of Hari dīkṣita) inherited the title as a matter of pure legacy. His brother Raṅgoji or his nephew Koṇḍa are not known by that title. The name Raṅgoji Dīkṣita, as used in Dr. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar" seems therefore to be a slip.

‡ Cf Aufrecht, Cat. Cat., I, p. 489. Both these works exist in the Library of Pandit Mukunda Śāstrī. The former has been published in the Government Sanskrit Library Series, Benares. The second work is incomplete, being confined to one chapter only.

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coming from his pen as contributive to this philosophy. All these are of an elementary character and obviously intended for beginners.

B. (a) **तर्कप्रदीप.**

A MS of this exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. It was written at the instance of Rājā Vīrabhadra*, and contains the following references: **चार्वाकाः** 3b[8]; **वेदान्तिन:** 4b[12]; **मीमांसका:** 6b[9]; **चिन्तामणिकार** 8b[7]; **आचार्या:** 9a[4]; **लीलावतीकृत्** 11b[6]; **उदयनाचार्य** 11b[5]; **प्राच्या:** 11a[5], 12a[4]; "**अस्मत्पितृचरणा:**" 26a[2]; **अद्वैतचिन्तामणि** (by his father) 26b[7], 13; and **वैयाकरणभूषण** (his own work) 26a[1],

(b) **पदार्थदीपिका.** This is published in the Benares Sanskrit Series and requires no notice to be taken in this place.

(c) **तर्करत्न** †. This is referred to in (b).

V—Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Ārḍe.

He was a resident of Benares, being the son of Raṅganātha, and Kamalā‡, pupil of Hari and younger brother of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. He is known for the following works:

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* cf Hall, p. 79.

† cf. Hall, p. 78.

‡ I examined a Ms. of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's Chitragaṅgādhara (fols 26; unknown to Aufucht) in. Gopāladāsa's private Collection. In the 3rd introductory verse of this work the author speaks of his parents, whom he names Raṅganātha (not Raghunātha as in Aufrecht, Cat, Cat, I, p. 118) and Kamalā, as already dead: **वैकुण्ठमध्यावसतेः कमलारङ्गनाथयोः। तनूजेन कवित्वानां माला भीला वितन्यते** (fol. 16). Cf also Ind. Office Cat., p. 618.

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A. Commentaries on

(a) Jagadîśa's

i. Commentary on Chintāmaṇidîdhiti (=जगदीशतोषिणी or मञ्जूषा).

and (b) Gadādhara's

i. Commentary on Chintāmaṇidîdhiti (=काशिका).

and ii. Śaktivāda.

VI— Mādhava Deva :

Mādhava Deva was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Deva and grandson of Mādhava Deva of Dhārāsûrapura* on the bank of the Godāvarî. He was himself a man of Benares where he had been living for a long time past. From the introductory verses of the Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarī it appears that he read with his own father Lakṣmaṇa. His works, only two in number within our present knowledge, were written at Benares and held in high esteem among the local Pandits (" काशी पण्डित मण्डलीषु विलसन् ").

His works are :

A. Commentary on

(a) Keśava Miśra's

i. Tarkabhāṣā (तर्कभाषासारमञ्जरी or तर्कप्रकाश), where the following are referred to ; गौरीकान्त fols 7a^5, 13b^3, 15a^7, 18^7, 20a^3, 23a^2, 24a^7 34b^6, 38a^6, 43b^4, 44b^{7}s 46b^{13}, 48b^6 49a^7 ; गोवर्द्धनप्रभृतयः—fol. 45a^8 ; गोवर्द्धन fols. 34b^6, 38b^5, 43b^3,

* Not Dhārā, or modern Dhar, as supposed by Mr. A. V. Kathavate in his Report (1891-95), p. 15. Dhārā is a town in Central India, whereas Dhārāsūrapura is farther South, in the Deccan, on the bank of the Godāvarī.

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45a[12] ; गोवर्द्धनबलभद्रौ fol 16a[6] ; प्राचीनाः – fols 11b[1], 30b[5-8], 45b[8] ; मणिकृत् 48b[10] ; दीधिति 45a[4], 46a[1] ; पण्डितम्मन्य 50b[5]* and रुद्रभट्टाचार्य ।

Of the earlier commentators Gaurīkānta has been most severely treated.

(b) Raghunātha's

i. Tattvachintāmaṇidîdhiti, A part of this work, dealing with the import of the particle एव was known to Hultzsch, No. 1418, II, p. 133.

(b) Rāmachandra's

i. Commentary on Guṇakiraṇāvalî, known as Guṇarahasya (" गुणरहस्यप्रकाश ") as in Hall, p. 67 or गुणसारमञ्जरी as in Mitra, 1453).

B.

(a) न्यायसार. This is the earlier work of Mādhava (mentioned in Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarî on fols 29[4], 44a[11], 50a[10]) and merits appreciation. It was written at Tripurārirājanagara, or Benares. From the fact that Mādhava names Rudra Bhaṭṭāchārya and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita he could not have lived earlier than the middle of the 17th century, and the existence of a copy of Nyāyasāra in the India Office Library, transcribed in Saṃ 1767 (1710 A.D.) furnishes the posterior limit of his age. In all probability therefore he belonged to the latter part of the 17th century.

* The folios refer to the MS., not yet numbered, which has just been acquired for the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

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VII.— Dharmarāja. Adhvarindra.

As the author of Vedāntaparibhāṣā Dharmarāja's reputation stands high among modern students of philosophy; his Nyāya works have been forgotten and are now generally unknown. But it was for these works that he seems to have been remembered in his life time.

He was an inhabitant of the village of Kandaramāṇikya and was the son of one Trivedīnārāyaṇa Yajvan of the Kauṇḍinya family * He is known to have been the pupil of Pandit Veṅkatanatha of Velanguḍi, a village which Mr. Burnell † locates in the Kumbhakonam Taluk of the Tanjore District. Dharmrāja mentions his Paramaguru's name to be Nṛsiṃha Yati who may be tentatively identified with the author of Bhedadhikkara (1547 A. D.). Rāmakṛṣṇa, Dharmarāja's son, refers to Nṛsiṃha in his Sikhāmaṇi. The time of Dharmaraja falls therefore somewhere about the middle of the 17th Century.

In the introductory verses of the Vedāntaparibhāsā Dharmarāja speaks of his two Nyaya treatises, both commentaries, named below.

A.—(a) On Śaśadhara's

i. Nyāyasiddhānta dīpa‡ (न्यायरत्न) ; a copy of this

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* Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 115 b.

† Ibid, p. 90 a. But Mahāmahopādhyāya Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañchānana in his commentary on the Vedāntaparibhāsā (pp. 3-4) speaks of Velaṅgudi to be a village on the bank of the Narmada. I leave the point open for discussion by men more competent to deal with questions of South Indian biography.

‡ टीका शशधरस्यापि बालव्युत्पत्तिदायिनी । This, along with the line following (पदयोजनया पञ्चपादिका व्याकृता मया), does not occur in the current texts. The latter commentary is called पददीपिका (see Hultzsch, No. 1152).

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work exists in the Tanjore collection (vide Burnell, p. 119 b).

and (b) On Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvachintāmaṇi (तर्कचूडामणि), where he claims to have overthrown the views of ten previous commentaries. This seems however to be an idle vaunt*.

VIII.—Rāmakṛṣṇa Adhvarin.

Dharmaraja's son Rāmakṛṣṇa was the author of a Commentary, known as न्याय शिखामणि, on Ruchidatta's Tattvachintāmaniprakāśa†. This is the only work on Nyāya from Rāmakṛṣṇa's pen. From his commentary (वेदान्त-शिखामणि) on his father's Vedāntaparibhāṣā it appears that Rāmakṛṣṇa was highly proficient in the New Logic of Eastern India and that his training was more on the line of a controversian than on pure Upanishadic lore‡.

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* There is a commentary of this name on the Tattvachintāmaṇi-prakāśa, Cf. "A triennial Catalogue of Mss" by Rangacharya Kuppu Svāmī Śāstrī, Vol. I. p, 795 (R. No. 578).

† Burneu, p. 115 b.

‡ He also wrote a commentary on Sadānanda's Vedānta-sāra.

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IV.—AN ATTEMPT TO ARRIVE AT THE CORRECT MEANING OF SOME OBSCURE VEDIC WORDS.

By Sitaram Joshi.

1. दोषावस्तर् (दोषाऽवस्तः)

R. V. I. 1.7b.

This word is found in the Ṛgveda only thrice ; once here and again in each of the stanzas at R. V. IV. 4.9[2], and VII. 15.15[3]. It bears the same vocative accent in all the three places, and, obviously, is used in the same sense. It is a compound formed from the root 'vas' to dwell or to wear, as Indian scholars take it (वस् निवासे आच्छादने च) or from 'vas' to shine as the western scholars would have it (see Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students and Monier William's Lexicon), by adding to it the verbal (कृत्) termination तृच् or तृ, denoting an agent, and having for its prefix (उपपद) the word दोषा. So the form 'दोषावस्त ' is a vocative having the Udātta accent on its first syllable. Its meaning according to Indian scholars would be 'one who dwells at night, or one who wears or covers the night', (रात्रौ निवसनशील रात्रेराच्छादयितर्वा). Sāyaṇa and the Western scholars* would take it as 'one shining in the darkness.'

Sāyaṇa† takes it as a copulative compound (द्वन्द्वसमास) of two words 'doṣā' and 'vastar.' He says that the word 'doṣā' stands for night (दोषाशब्दो रात्रिवाची) and 'vastar'

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* See S. B. E. Series, Vol. XLVI, p. 4 ;

† Sāyaṇa's Commentary on Ṛgveda I. 1.7.

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for a day (वस्त इत्यहर्वाची). Sāyaṇa seems to regard this compound-word similar in *form* to the two words 'doṣā' and 'vastoḥ' (दोषावस्तोः*), which are frequently used in the Ṛgveda, not as a compound as the Pada text will show but separately though simultaneously, 'doṣā' standing for night and 'vastoḥ' for day.

For the accent of the word 'दोषावस्तर्' Sāyaṇa maintains it by applying to it Pāṇini's Sūtra "कार्तकौजपादयश्च". This Sūtra says that the 'Kārtakaujapādi' is a collection of words (गण) beginning with the compound-word 'Kārtakaujapa' (कार्तकौजप), and whenever they are used as a copulative compound (द्वन्द्वसमास), their first word assumes its natural accent (एषां द्वन्द्वे पूर्वपदं प्रकृत्या)†. As Sāyaṇa takes this word 'दोषेवस्तर्' as a copulative compound, its first word 'doṣā' must have its natural accent on the second syllable, which is not to be found here. Here the accent is on the first, which fact clearly indicates that the form, 'दोषेवस्तर्' is a vocative.‡ This is one of the many slips in Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Rigveda.

In Ṛg. V. VII. 15 15 we find his interpretation of the word as 'रात्रेराच्छादयितर्'. The reason for this is quite clear. In VII. 15. 15 we come across the word 'दिवानक्तम्' after 'दोषावस्तर्'. How could he possibly translate both the words to mean the same thing? To avoid this tautology, he was obliged to take 'vas' meaning 'आच्छादन' The question arises—how could Sāyaṇa not make out his own mistake in the two previous passages? He must have held the firm

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* Vide R. V. I. 104.1 ; 179.1 ; V. 32.11 ; VI. 5. 2 ; 39.3 ; VII. 1.6 ; VIII. 2.5.21 ; X. 40.4.

† See S. K. 3771 Sutra.

‡ Pāṇini VI. 1. 193. 'आमन्त्रितस्य च.'

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opinion that there is hardly any difference between 'वस्तो :' and 'वस्तर' or he must have mistaken one word for the other. But it is not likely that he would identify वस्तः and वस्ते :. In the passages occurring in the first and fourth Maṇḍalas, though there are words like दिवे दिवे and अभिधून्, they will not lead to absurdity if 'दोषावस्तर्' be translated or interpreted as 'night and day.' They would mean 'every day in the morning and in the evening' as some of the Westerm scholars have tried to point out in order to defend Sāyaṇa. I admit this situation but I hold that if the Vedic poets really intended that meaning for 'दोषावस्तर्', they would not have, in any case, used it, as we see it in VII. 15. 15 with its synonym दिवानक्तम्, thus giving rise to mere tautology. This single instance is quite sufficient to point out that the Vedic poets never intended that meaning for the word.

Moreover, there are other reasons to show that 'दोषा वस्तर्' will never mean 'day and night' or vice versa.

Firstly, Sāyaṇa's statement that 'vastar' stands for 'a day' *lacks support.* We never come across such an *independent* word as 'वस्तर्' standing for 'a day' in the whole of the Ṛgveda. Secondly, instead of 'वस्तर्' we always meet with 'वस्तोः', which means 'a day' and which is used side by side with दोषा, and sometimes independently also. The Nighaṇṭu tells us that the word for 'a day' is 'वस्तोः' and not 'वस्तर्' Thirdly, we do not even find the two words दोषा and वस्तोः. used in a compound though they stand side by side, because Padapāṭha separates them. We once meet with the sing. of वस्तर् i. e. वस्ता in R. V. III. 49. 4, which is used with the genetive plural क्षपां as क्षपां वस्तर, clearly indicating that the termination added to वस् is a verbal one (कृत्) and is subjective (कर्तरि), and according to Pāṇini II. 2. 15,

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the compound of the two words is impossible. In case of 'दोषावस्तर्' the word 'दोषा' being indeclinable, Pāṇini's rule is not violated. Besides, the Vedic words are not bound by Pāṇini's rules as the famous saying lays down—छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः. So the instance of क्षपां वस्ता goes to confirm our statement that 'वस्तर्' is formed from the root 'vas' by the addition of तृ.

The two words 'दोषा' and 'वस्तोः' are always used separately as we have pointed out above, often with, and sometimes without, the intervention of any word or words. Each of them is used independently also without being accompanied by the other. Once the word 'दोषा' is found in plural as दोषाः in R. V. I. 179. 1 ; there is found also the repetition (वीप्सा) of the word 'वस्तोः' as a compound of 'वस्तोः' and वस्तोः in R. V. X. 60. 103 but no such use is found of 'वस्तर्'.

We may call here other commentators for the support of our statement. This very stanza of Ṛgveda I. 1. 7, occurs in Vājasaneya Saṃhitā III. 22, where Uvaṭa and Mahîdhara, the well-known Commentators of that text, interpret the word दोषावस्तर् as हे 'दोषावस्तर्' दोषेति रात्रिनाम । (वस निवासे) राज्यां वसनशीलो दोषावस्ता तस्य सम्बोधनं हे दोषावस्तर्, i.e. the word दोषावस्तर् is a vocative; 'doṣā' is a synonym of night ; and the root 'vas' is to dwell ; one who is habituated to dwell at night is 'doṣāvastar' and the same addressed, is दोषावस्तर्. Uvaṭa, for the support of his statement, calls in sacerdotal quotation as "अग्नौ ह वै देवा" इत्युपक्रम्य तौ संगृह्य रात्रि 'प्रविवेश' इति यदनेनेति हास्नेनोच्यते तदयं मन्त्रो दृष्ट्वाह दोषावस्तरिति . This legend shows that there is no necessity of conjecturing the meaning of 'shining' for the root 'vas', where we can do very well with the usual

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meaning of 'dwelling.' Mahīdhara also says the same thing by adding to it "दोषा रात्रिस्तस्यामपि वसति अजस्रं धार्यमाणत्वान्नोपशाम्यतीति दोषावस्तर्"

Oldenberg has very well pointed out that the authors of Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra and Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* use this word clearly as a vocative. Āśvalāyana, while addressing Agni, uses this epithet and instructs how to address him in the morning and in the evening. He says यदि सायं दोषावस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति । यदि प्रातः प्रातर्वस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति ' A. S. S. III 12.4 ; Oldenberg, in his comment on this word in S. B. E. XLVI, p. 4, admits that he takes the word as a vocative, but does not feel sure of his position. Let us quote the note here fully. "I have translated 'doṣāvastar' as a vocative, which, as is rendered very probable by the accent, was also the opinion of the diaskeuests of the Saṃhitā text. The author of the sacrificial formula which is given in Āśval. Śrau. III . 12.4 and Śāṅkh. Gṛh. V. 5.4 evidently understood the word in the same way; there Agni is invoked as 'Doṣāvastar' and as 'Prātarvastar' as shining in the darkness of evening and as shining in the morning. That this may indeed be the true meaning of the word is shown by Ṛgveda III. 49.4, where Indra is called 'Kṣapāṃ Vastā' the illuminator of nights. (Kṣapām is gen. plur ; not sing. as Bartholomae Bezzanbergeîs Beitrāge XV, 208. takes it.) *The very frequent passages, however, in which case-forms of doṣā stand in opposition to words meaning 'dawn' or 'morning'—which words in most cases are derived from the root 'vas', strongly favour the opinion of Gaedicke* (Der Accusativm. in Veda. 177, note 3) and K. F. Johansson (Bezzenbergen's Beitrage XIV. 163) *who give to doṣāvastar the meaning 'in the darkness and in the morning.'*

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* A. S. S. III. 12.4; 2. S. G. S. V. 5.4;

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This translation very well suits all Rgveda passages in which the word occurs. If this opinion is accepted, doṣāvastar very probably ought to be written and accented as two independent words, dosā vastar. See M. Müller, Physical Religion, p. 173 etc.

We have already shown the absurdity of his statement in the underlined passages as the accent would not allow us to do so; moreover in R.V. VII. 15. 15 there is clear repetition and the word 'vastar' is never used independently for 'a day'.

Griffith translates this word 'doṣāvastar' as a dispeller of night. He does not seem to prefer this meaning of 'shining' or his own meaning 'dispeller of night' in the rest of the two passages. There he renders them by 'eve and morning'. So in VII. 15. 15 he is obliged to translate the word 'दिवानक्तम्' by 'day and night'. The word 'doṣā' may mean 'the eve' but the word 'वस्तोः' does not and 'वस्तर्' never means 'the morning.' Moreover the accent is to be ignored. Even then there is hardly any difference in meaning between 'morn and eve' and 'day and night', to use both of which will mean pure tautology.

Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha does not give the meaning 'to shine' for 'vas.'. It gives only two meanings 'वस' आच्छादने and 'वस' निवासे; Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar for Students enlists this root meaning 'to shine', the forms of which are very similar to those of 'उच्छी निवासे'. As the Indian Scholars were never aware of this meaning they have always taken 'vas' as meaning 'to wear' or 'to dwell', as we have shown above.

V—A COMPARISON OF THE CONTENTS OF THE ṚGVEDA-, VĀJASANEYI-, TAITTIRĪYA-, AND ATHARVAVEDA-(CĀTURADHYĀYIKĀ) PRĀTIŚĀKHYAS.

By Mangal Deva Shastri.

(Continued from p. 114 of Vol. V.)

7. Faults in pronunciation:

	Ṛg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
General nature of faults in pronunciation ...	XIV. 1	...	...	....
Faults in the pronunciation of sounds in general* ...	XIV. 2—9	Cp. 1.26	Cp. XVII. 8	....
Faults in the pronunciation of vowels in general† ...	XIV. 10, 11, 54, 56	....	...	...

* निरस्त, व्यास, पीडन, अम्बूकृत, शून, संदष्ट, विक्लिष्ट, ग्रस्त, अनुनासिक।

† अयथामात्रवचन, संदंश, व्यास, पीडन, निरास, अन्यवर्णता, राग।

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	Rg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
Suppression or addition of a short vowel	XIV. 40	...	...	...
Separation of a conjunct consonant by a vowel, or *anaptyxis* (see also conjunct consonants)	XIV. 49	...	....	...
Fault in the pronunciation of *a*, *ā*	XIV. 12	....	...	...
Fault in the pronunciation of *i*	XIV. 45	...	...	...
,, ,, ,, of *ṛ*, *ṝ*	,, 38	...	....	...
,, ,, ,, of *ṛ*, *ḷ* ...	,, 46	....	...	...
Aiy pronounced as *Ayy* or vice versa ...	,, 41, 42	...	...	...

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Ai pronounced as *ayī* or vice versa	„ 43, 44	....	...	...
Faults in the pronunciation of :				
consonants in general*	XIV. 15—17, 55	...	...	...
initial sonant consonants	„ 18	....	...	....
initial aspirates ...	„ 19	....	...	....
the first four *vargas* ...	XIV. 21	....	...	...
the first *varga*	„ 22	....	...	...
the second and third *vargas* ...	„ 24	....	...	...
the fourth *varga*	„ 23, 25	...	....	...
voiceless dentals	„ 39	...	...	...
a semi-vowel	„ 50	...	...	...

* अदेशे वचन, अन्योन्येन विराग, लेशेन वचन, पीडन, परक्रम ।

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	Ṛg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
a group of sounds containing a semivowel	„ 14	...	...	...
r	„ 24, 26	....	...	...
l	„ 27	...	....	...
Suppression of *y* or *v* ...	„ 48 (Cp. also 42, 43)	...	....	...
Addition of *y*	XVI. 47 (Cp. also 41, 44)	....	...	...
Insertion of a breathing ...	XVI. 52	...	...	...
Faults in the pronunciation of initial breathings ...	„ 19	...	...	...
voiceless* breathings ...	„ 20, 29	...	...	....

* Cp. Uvaṭa.

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h	„ 28, 35, 36, 57	...	...	...
Visarjanīya	„ 30—33, 36 (Cp. Müller)	...	But cp. II. 48	...
Faults in the pronunciation of nasalized sounds ...	XIV. 13	...	....	...
yamas	„ 34—36, 53	Cp. IV. 162	....	...
Anusvāra instead of nasalizing a vowel	„ 37	But cp. III. 133	But cp. XV. 2, 3	...
Addition of Anusvāra ...	„ 54	...	...	...
Lengthening of a short nasal vowel	„ 51	...	...	...
Faults in the pronunciation of conjunct consonants ...	XIV. 49, 58 (Cp. also 14-16, 34-36, 42, 48,52,53,55,57)	Cp. IV. 162, 163	...	But cp. II. 38, 39

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	Ṛg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
Hiatuses	XIV. 59-62	...	...	...
Defects in the utterance of accents (see also under *accent*)	III. 29-33	....	...	...
Utility of the treatise in view of the impossibility of enumerating all the faults ...	XIV. 63, 64	...	...	...
... ...				
... ...				
... ...				
... ...				
... ...				

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	Ṛg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
14 Certain objections against the teaching of phonetics and their refutation ...	XIV. 68, 69	...	...	....

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III. SANDHI OR EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

Introductory :

	Rg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
Relation of Pada and Saṃhitā texts ...	II. 1, 2, Intro. stanza 3	I. 155–158	V. 1, 2	Cp. II. 1
Four kinds of combinations or Saṃhitās ...	...	...	XXIV. 1, 4	...
Nature of hiatus, its duration and varieties ...	II. 3, 4, 13, 14, 79, 80	....	...	...
Different views on the nature of the following *a* vowel in certain hiatuses ...	II. 81, 82	...	XI. 19 (Cp.G.Gopāla)	....
In case of coalescence of a nasalized vowel with another vowel the result is also nasal. ...	Cp. XIII. 26	IV. 51	X. II (Cp. Whitney)	I. 69

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In case of nasalization of *r*.-vowels, the part following the *r* receives the nasal quality ...	....	...	...	I. 71
The sound preceding an aspirate becomes a non-aspirate ...	Cp. VI. 2, XII. 9	IV. 108	XIV. 5	I. 94

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I. Final vowels :

	Ṛg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
Combination of simple final vowels with similar initials ...	II. 15	IV. 50,51	X. 2	III. 42
Exceptions. ...	II. 57-59,61, 65,66,72,74	IV. 85	X. 13	...
Irregular combination of final *a* with initial *a* into *o* ...	II. 71,72	...	...	III. 43
Combination of final *a*, *ā* with initial vowels (*i*,*ī*,*u*,*ū*,*e*,*ai*,*o*, *au*...	II. 16,19	IV. 52,53,56	X. 3,7	III. 44-45, 50,51
Exceptions ...	II. 59,63,71 73,74	IV. 85	X. 13	
Irregular combination of final *a*, *ā* with initial *i* into *ai*, with initial *ū* into *au*, with initial *o* into *o*, or with initial *e* into *e*	II. 71,73	IV. 54,55,57	Cp. X. 14	III. 52

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Combination of final *a*, *ā* with initial *ṛ* ...	II. 32	IV. 48	Cp. X. 8,9	Cp. III. 46-49
Exceptions ...	II. 64	...	...	...
Conversion of a final non-guttural simple vowel into a semivowel before a dissimilar vowel. ...	II. 21-23	IV. 45	Cp. X. 15	III. 39
Exceptions ...	II. 56, 59, 70-72	IV. 85	IX. 16, 17, X. 18	...
Combination of final diphthongs	II. 25, 28, 31	IV. 46	IX. 11-15, X. 19-23, 25	II. 21-24, III. 40
Exceptions ...	II. 70, 73, 74	...	...	...
Combination of final *e* and *o* with initial *a* (see also *initial vowels*) ...	II. 33	...	IX. 13	....
Exception ...	II. 73	...	...	...
Final vowels not liable to combination : ...				

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	Rg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
Pragṛhya vowels ...	II. 51-54, 56 74	IV. 86, 88	X. 24	III. 33
Exceptions ...	II. 70, 72	IV. 87	...	...
Prolated vowels ...	Cp. I. 4	IV. 90	X. 24	Cp. I. 97
Special cases of uncombinable finals ...	II. 32, 57-59, 74	IV. 85, 89, 91	X. 13, 18	III. 34, 36

(To be continued)

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VI.—AN INDEX TO THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

(Continued from Vol. VI.)

By MANMATHA NĀTH RĀY.

GAVAYA—The Vānara chief who partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrîva (IV. 26. 35). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly furnished house in Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33.9). **काञ्चनशैलाभः महावीर्यः** Supplied Sugrîva with 5 krors of Vānaras (IV. 39. 23). Sugrîva wanted to send him to the South in search of Sîtā (IV. 41.3). Having ran-sacked the Vindhyās, entered the Ṛkṣa cave along with Hanumān in search of water (IV. 50. 1—8). Appointed leader of the expeditionary force by Rāma (VI. 4. 15). **तेजस्वी बलदर्पितः** (VI. 26. 44). Fought at the south gate under Aṅgada (VI. 41. 39—40). Ran about here and there defending the army (VI. 42. 31). Attacked Rāvaṇa with huge stones but disabled (VI. 59. 42—43). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 59). On the occasion of Rāma's coronation fetched water from the Western seas (VI. 128.55). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII. 36.48).

GAVĀKṢA—The Vānara Chief who partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrîva (IV. 26. 35). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly furnished house in Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33. 9). Lord of the Go-lāṅgulas. **भीमपराक्रमः** In response to Sugrîva's call supplied 1000 krores of Vānaras (IV. 39. 19). Sugrîva wanted to send him to the South in search of Sîtā (IV. 41. 3). Having ran sacked the Vindhyas, entered the Ṛkṣa cave in search of water (IV. 50. 1—8). In reply to Aṅgada's appeal told that he could jump 20 Yojanas (IV. 65. 3). Appointed leader of the expeditionary force to the south by Rāma (VI. 4. 15). The lord of the **सितमुखाः महाबलाः गोलांगुलाः** (VI. 27. 32—33). Fought

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at the south gate under Aṅgada (VI. 41. 39—40). **महाकायः भीमदर्शनः गोलांगूलः महावीर्यः** Stood beside Rāma with his soldiers (VI. 42. 28). Ran about here and there defending the army (VI. 42. 31). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 46. 20). Carefully guarded the Vānara army (VI. 47. 2—4). Attacked Rāvaṇa with a huge stone but disabled (VI. 59. 42—43). Guarded the gates carefully at the desire of Rāma (VI. 61. 37). Attacked Kumbhakarṇa but was wounded (VI. 67. 24—28). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 59). Wounded by Mahāpārśva (VI. 98. 11). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII. 36. 48). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39. 21).

GĀDHI—Born after the celebration of the Putreṣṭi Sacrifice (1.34.5). **परमधार्मिकः** Father of Viśvāmitra (I.34.6) and Satyavatī (I. 34. 7). Son of Kuśanābha (I. 51. 19). Admitted the supremacy of Rāvaṇa (VII. 19. 5).

GĀNDHĀRA—The Land of the Gandharvas. Conquered by Bharata on behalf of his sons (VII. 101. 11).

GĀYATRĪ—Her temple at Agastya's hermitage visited by Rāma (III. 12. 20). Accompanied Rāma on the occasion of his Great Renunciation (VII. 109. 8).

GĀRGYA—A great Ṛṣi of the east who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1. 2). Preceptor of Rājā Yudhājit of Kekaya; son of Aṅgirasa **ब्रह्मर्षिः अमितप्रभः** Came to Ayodhyā with rich presents to deliver a message from Rāma's uncle and was respectfully received by Rāma (VII. 100. 1—5). In compliance with the request of Rāma (VII. 100. 6—8) delivered the message of Yudhājit, viz. he should annex the country watered by the Sindhu which was then being ruled by the Gandharvas (VII. 100. 8—13). Led the van of Bharata's army (VII. 100. 20).

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GĀLAVA—A great Ṛṣi of the east who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1. 2). Established peace between Rāvaṇa and Māndhātā by acting as the mediator (VII. 23 (c). 55—56).

GRĀMAṆĪ—A Gandharva Chief who dwelt in the sandal forests of the Ṛṣabha Hills. **सूर्यसमप्रभः रविसोमाग्निवपुः** (IV. 41. 42—43). **विश्वावसुसमप्रभः** Married his daughter Devavatī to Sukeśa. **धर्मात्मा** (VII. 5. 1—3).

GIRIVRAJA (i)—**पुरवरः** A town founded by Vasu, the son of Kuśa; also called Vasumatî after the name of the founder. Surrounded by the five hills through which flows the Śona, also known as the Sumāgadhî (I. 32. 8-9).

GIRIVRAJA (ii)—Vasiṣṭha's messengers arrived at that town. [Probably the chief town of Kekaya] (II. 68.21-22).

GUHA—The lord of the Niṣādas whom Rāma met at Śṛṅgaverapura during his exile. He accompanied the Princes as far as Citrakūṭa (I. 1. 30). His meeting with Rāma foreseen by Vālmîki (I. 3.14).

बलवान्, रामस्यात्मसमः सखा, also known as **स्थपतिः** (II. 50. 33). Went to receive Rāma on foot with his relatives and officers (II. 50. 34). Embraced Rāma with suitable words and offered food etc. (II. 50. 36-39). Asked his men to offer fodder and water to Rama's horses (II. 50. 47). Talked away the whole night with Lakṣmaṇa and Sumantra (II. 50. 50). Asked Lakṣmaṇa to go to sleep and offered to watch Rāma with his men (II. 51. 2-7). Shed tears when Lakṣmaṇa recited his own and his brother's sorrows (II. 51. 27). Lakṣmaṇa having communicated Rāma's desire to cross the Gaṅgā asked his men to get ready a boat (II. 52. 4-6). When the boat arrived he informed Rāma about it and asked him to board it without delay (II. 52. 7-9).

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Requested by Rāma fetched some milk of the banyan tree (II. 52. 68). Asked his men to mind their business when Rāma etc. had taken their seats on the boat (II. 52. 77). Talked with Sumantra for a long time after Rāma had crossed the Gaṅgā (II 57.1). Dismissed Sumantra (II.57.3). Ruled over Śṛṅgaverapura etc. वीरः (II. 83. 20). Seeing the huge army of Bharata suspected his intentions towards Rāma, so commanded his men to guard carefully the ford and advised his men to allow a safe passage to Bharata, only if his intentions were good (II. 84. 1-9). Approached Bharata with presents (II. 84. 10). Being admitted into the presence of Bharata offered to entertain his army for the night (II. 84. 15-18). Offered to accompany him to Rāma's place but questioned his intentions with regard to Rāma (II. 85. 6-7). Praised Bharata for the nobility of his heart (II. 85. 11-13). Consoled Bharata when he was overtaken with grief (II. 85. 22). Admired Lakṣmaṇa's devotion to Rāma and in support of his point related the fact that Lakṣmaṇa though requested by him did not go to sleep for Rāma was lying on a bed of straws and then related how they had departed for the forests under his very eyes (II. 86. 1-25). Pained to find Bharata lying unconscious (II. 87. 4). In reply to Bharata's enquiries showed him the bed where Rāma lay and narrated the services of Lakṣmaṇa (II. 87. 14-24). Next morning saw Bharata and enquired if he had slept well (II. 89. 4-5). Directed by Bharata asked his kinsmen to collect boats in which the army might cross the river (II. 89. 8-9). Himself brought out a Svastika boat (II. 89. 12). Engaged by Bharata to locate the dwelling-place of Rāma (II. 98 4). Followed Bharata on foot to see Rāma (II. 98. 18). Embraced by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (II. 99. 41). निषादाधिपतिः (VI. 125. 4). सः रामस्य आत्मसमः सखा

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(VI. 125. 5). At the desire of Rāma, Hanumān informed him of the safe arrival of his intimate friend (VI. 125. 22-24).

GUHYAKAS, The—A class of demi-Gods attending on Kuvera. Played with Kuvera on the banks of the tank on the Kailāsa hills (IV. 43. 23). Went into raptures when Rāma killed Kumbhakarṇa (VI. 67. 172). Came to witness the duel between Ati-Kaya and Lakṣmaṇa (VI. 71. 65). Accompanied Brahman to propitiate Vāyu (VII. 35. 64).

GOKARṆA—Where Bhagîratha retired to practise austerities (I. 42. 12). Kesarī left the Mālyavān for—(V. 35. 80). Rāvaṇa and his brothers practised austerities there (VII. 9. 47).

GODĀVARÎ, The—Flowed by the Pañca-Vaṭī (III. 13. 18). **रम्या पद्मिनी पद्मशोभिता** (III. 15. 11). **पुष्पितैः तरुभिर्वृता** (III. 15. 12). **हंसकारण्डवाकीर्णं चक्रवाकोपशोभिता, मृगयूथनि. पीड़िता** (III. 15. 13). Rāma etc. in exile set up their abode in the proximity of—(III. 15. 11-13). Bathed there daily (III. 16. 2). **शीघ्रस्रोता** The rapidity of her flow slowed down on the appearance of Rāvaṇa (III 46.7-8). **हंससारस-संघुष्टा** (III. 49. 31). **सरितां वरिष्ठा** (III. 63. 13). **तीर्थवती** (III. 64. 3). After the abduction of Sîtā, Rāma inquired if she knew the whereabouts of Sîtā, but for fear of Rāvaṇa held her peace (III. 64.6-11). **रम्या** Sugrîva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sītā (IV. 41. 9). Rāma's car passed across—(VI. 123. 45-49).

GOPA—A Lord of the Gandharvas who entertained Bharata with music at the hermitage of Bharadvāja (II. 91. 46).

GO-PRATĀRA—A holy spot in the Sarayū; whoever of Rāma's followers and companions gave up his life there, proceeded to heaven (VII. 110. 22-24).

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GOMATĪ, The—crossed by the exiled Rāma ; situated to the south of the Kosala territory. **शीतवहा नदी, गोयुता, सागरसंगमा** (II. 49. 10-11). Crossed by Bharata on his return journey from Kekaya at Vinata (II. 71. 16). Saṅrocana, the Vānara chief dwelt there formerly (VI. 26. 25). Hanumān crossed it (VI. 125. 26). On their way to the hermitage Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa spent a night on its bank (VII. 46. 19).

GO-MUKHA—Son of Mātalī, and charioteer to Jayanta. Indrajit overwhelmed him with arrows (VII. 28. 10).

GOLABHA—A Gandharva chief who carried on a 15 years' war without intermission, with Vālin, till he died in the sixteenth year. **महात्मा माहाबाहुः दुर्विनीतः** (IV. 22. 27-29).

GAUTAMA (i)—a sacrificial priest to Daśaratha (I. 7. 5). **राजकर्ता** (II. 67.2). Attended the court on the morning following Daśaratha's demise and advised Vasiṣṭha to appoint a king without delay (II. 67. 6-8). Helped Vasiṣṭha in conducting the coronation ceremony of Rāma (VI. 128. 60). Summoned by Rāma entered his presence-chamber and was duly received (VII. 74. 4-5). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā in Rāma's court (VII. 96.5).

GAUTAMA (ii)—Practised austerities with his wife Ahalyā in the outskirts of Mithilā. **महात्मा** (I. 48.14-16). Ahalyā raped by Indra (I. 48. 17-22). **महामुनिः** While leaving the cottage Indra came upon him (I. 48. 23). **देवदानवदुर्धर्षः तपोबलसमन्वितः तीर्थोदकपरिक्लिन्न दीप्यमान इवानलः** (I. 48.24). **वृत्तसम्पन्नः** Angry at finding Indra in disguise pronounced a curse on him (I. 48.26-27). Condemned his wife to pine for a thousand years till relieved by Rāma, when he promised to take her back (I. 48.29-32). Retired to the Himālayas to practise austerities. **महातेजाः**

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महातपाः (I. 48.33). Indra rendered मेषवृषणः through his influence (I. 49.10). Honored Rāma and restored Ahalyā to favor (I. 49.21). Came from the north to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1. 5). At first Ahalyā was deposited as a trust with him by Brahman and when his patience had been sufficiently tested, she was given in marriage. Indra having raped Ahalyā, he cursed him and his wife and then predicted about her emancipation (VII. 30.30-45). Lived near Vaijayantapura—the capital of Nimi (VII. 55.5-6). In the absence of Vasiṣṭha acted for him at Nimi's sacrifice (VII. 55.11).

GHANA.—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanumān (V. 6. 23).

GHṚTĀCĪ—The divine courtesan who as the wife of Kuśanābha gave birth to a hundred daughters (I. 32.11). Her help prayed for by Bharadvāja in the matter of entertaining the retinue of Bharata (II. 91.17). Viśvamitra's fancy for her for ten years referred to by Tārā (IV. 35.7).

GHORA—A Rākṣasa chief whose house was burnt down by Hanumān (V. 54. 13).

CAKRA—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanumān (V. 6. 24.)

CAKRAVĀN, The—A hill situated in the fourth part of the Western Sea. There rests a big wheel of a hundred spokes manufactured by Viśvakarman. There Viṣṇu captured the conch-shell and the wheel after killing the Dānavas, Pañcajana and Hayagrîva. Sugrīva asked Suṣeṇa and others to ran-sack its caves and valleys in search of Sîtā (IV. 42. 27—29).

CAṆḌA—A Vānara chief who joined the expeditionary force against Rāvaṇa ; अदीनः (VI. 26. 27—28).

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CAṆḌĀLA, The—Bluish in appearance, rude, wearing blue cloths, with dishevelled hair, wearing garlands offered at the funeral pyre, besmeared in ashes and wearing ornaments made of iron (I. 58. 10—11).

CAṆḌODARĪ–क्रूरदर्शना The Rākṣasī guard of Sītā who threatened to devour her if she did not yield to the embraces of Rāvaṇa (V. 24. 38—41).

CANDANA FORESTS, The—The Vānara population thereof joined the expeditionary force of Rāma under Saṁrocana (VI. 26. 22).

CANDRA, The—Hills in the Kṣīroda sea, on which grew medicinal herbs (VI. 50. 31).

CANDRA—Born of the Kṣīroda Sea. शीतरश्मिः निशाकरः (VII. 23. 22). Stands 80,000 leagues above the Milky Way (आकाशगंगा). When assailed by Rāvaṇa, burnt him with his 'burning-cold' rays—सर्वसत्त्वसुखावहः (VII. 23 (d). 15—18). शीताशुः दहनात्मकः स्वभावः (VII. 23 (d). 20). लोकस्य हितकामः द्विजराजः महाद्युतिः (VII. 23 (d). 23). Won the high position by celebrating the Rjāasūya Sacrifice. सोमः धर्मवित् (VII. 83. 7).

CANDRAKĀNTA—A town, सुरुचिरः निरामयः (VII. 102. 5). In the Malla Bhūmi विख्याता दिव्या स्वर्गपुरी यथा (VII. 102. 9).

CANDRA-KETU.—Son of Lakṣmaṇa, धर्मविशारदः दृढ़विक्रमः (VII. 102. 2). मल्लः Made king of the Malla-Bhūmi (VII. 102. 9).

CANDRA-CITRĀ—A country in the West. Sugriva sent Suṣeṇa etc. there in search of Sītā (IV. 42. 6).

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CĀRAṆAS, The—In accordance with the desire of Brahman, produced Vānara children who would render assistance to Rāma. वनचारिणः (I. 17. 9; 23) Ruled over by Indra (I. 45. 45). Lived on the heights of the Himālayas (I. 48. 33). Requested by Indra to get his testicles restored (I. 49. 1-4). Dwelt in the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha (I.51.23). Appeased the wrath of Śiva and Viṣṇu (I. 75. 18-19). Witnessed the duel between Rāma and Paraśu-Rāma (I. 76. 10). Prayed for the success of Rāma when he fought with Khara (III. 23. 27-29). Came to see the fight (III. 24. 19). Praised Rāma profusely and indicated their joy on the destruction of Khara (III. 30. 29-33). Rāvaṇa passed through groves frequented by them (III. 35. 15). They talked over the abduction of Sītā amongst themselves (III.54.10). Lived on the banks of the Śona (IV.40.33). Haunted the Sudarśana Lake for the sake of pleasure (IV. 40. 41). Haunted the Mahendra Hills (IV. 41. 22). Haunted the Puṣpitaka Hills (IV. 41. 28). Denizens of the aerial regions (V. 1. 1). Saw Hanumān disappearing for a moment in the jaws of Simhikā (V. 1. 184). Were surprised to find Laṅkā being reduced to ashes by Hanumān and were still more surprised when they found that Sītā had escaped unscathed (V. 55. 29-32). Paid compliments to Rāma when his army crossed the sea (VI. 22. 84-85). Prayed for the welfare of the universe while Indrajit fought with Lākṣmaṇa (VI. 89. 38). Became deeply concerned when Rāvaṇa overpowered Rāma (VI. 102. 30). Went into raptures on the death of Rāvaṇa (VI. 108. 30). Denizens of the third atmospheric region (VII. 23 (d). 5). Greeted Arjuna on the defeat of Rāvaṇa (VII. 32. 65).

CITRAKŪṬA, The—Being advised by Bharadvāja, Rāma with his brother and wife set up his abode there (I. 1. 31). During his stay there Daśaratha died of grief

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(I. 1. 32-33). Bharata went to him and pressed him hard to return home. But Rāma refused (I. 1. 33-37). For fear of being disturbed by the citizens, Rāma moved on thence to the Daṇḍaka forests (I. 1. 40). Rāma's visit foreseen by Vālmīki (I. 3. 15). Ten Krośas from Prayāga. **गिरिः महर्षिसेवितः पुण्यः पर्वतः शुभदर्शनः गोलाङ्गूलानुचरितः वानरर्क्षनिषेवितः गन्धमादनसन्निभः** (II. 54. 28-29). So long as a man looks at its peaks, he thinks of doing noble deeds and his mind is not overtaken by folly (II. 54. 30). Wherefrom numerous Ṛṣis with shrivelled-up heads have proceeded to the heaven after practising austerities for a hundred years (II. 54. 31). **मधुमूलफलोपेतः** (II. 54. 38). **नानानगगणोपेतः किन्नरोरगसेवितः** (II. 54. 39). **मयूरनादाभिरतः गजराजनिषेवितः** (II. 54. 40). **पुण्यः रमणीयः बहुमूलफलायुतः** Infested with elephants and the deer (II. 54. 41-42). Crowded with streams, water-falls, caves, fissures and rivulets; resounding with the cooing of the Kokilas and the lapwings, and haunted by parties of elephants and herds of deer (II. 54. 42-43). Its scenic beauty described (II. 56. 6-11; 13 15). Rāma etc. reached there (II. 56. 12). The pleasant sight of which effaced the memory of separation from Ayodhyā (II. 56. 35). Three yojanas and a half from Bharadvāja's hermitage **रम्यनिर्दरकाननः** (II. 92. 10). Described by Bharata (II. 93. 7-19). Bharata reached there (II. 99. 14). Before taking his departure Bharata walked round it (II. 113. 3). The Ṛṣis who lived there were oppressed by the Rākṣasas (III. 6 17). **प्राज्यमूलफलोदकः सिद्धाश्रितः देशः मन्दाकिन्यविदूरतः नानापुष्पसुगन्धी** (V. 38. 13-14). Rāma's car passed across— (VI. 123. 49-50).

CITRA-RATHA—an old counsellor and charioteer of Rāma. On the eve of his exile, Rāma instructed Lakṣmaṇa to make valuable presents to him (II. 32. 17-18).

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CŪLIN—**महाद्युतिः ऊर्ध्वरेताः शुभाचारः** Practised the Brāhma austerities (I. 33. 11). Tended by the Gandharvî Somadā (I. 33. 12). Pleased with her devotion asked her the way in which he might recompense her (I. 33. 13-14). **मुनि : वाक्यकोविद :** (I. 33. 15). In fulfilment of her desire (I. 33. 15-17) granted her a mind-born son, Brahmadatta by name. **ब्रह्मर्षिः** (I. 33. 18.).

CAITRA-RATHA (i)—A forest crossed by Bharata on his way back from Kekaya (II. 71. 4).

CAITRA-RATHA (ii)—The gardens of Kuvera in the land of the Uttara Kurus (II. 91. 19). The garlands which could be seen only there appeared in Prayāga by the might of Bharadvāja (II. 91. 48). Destroyed by Rāvaṇa (III. 32. 15-16). Where reigns the Spring season throughout the year (III. 73. 8).

COLĀ—A country in the South. Sugrîva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sîtā (IV. 41. 12).

CYAVANA—A great Ṛṣi who practised austerities on the Himālaya. A scion of the family of Bhṛgu (I. 70. 31-32). In reply to the queen Kālindî's prayer (I. 70. 29-33) predicted that she would give birth to a son "with poison" (**स + गर**) (I. 70. 34-35). **देववर्चस्** (I. 70. 32). **विप्रः** (I. 70. 34). Led a deputation of Ṛṣis to Rāma (VII. 60. 4). In reply to Śatrughna's query (VII. 67. 1-2), described how Lavaṇa destroyed Māndhātā of the Ikṣvāku line, then advised him to kill him at a time when he would come out leaving his arms behind (VII. 67. 3-26). A descendant of Bhṛgu; consulted by Budha with regard to Ila (VII. 90. 5). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sîtā in Rāma's Court (VII. 96. 4).

CHĀYĀ-GRĀHA—A Rākṣasî. Hanumān's visit to her fore-seen by Vālmîki (I. 3. 28).

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JAṬĀPURA—A रम्य town in the West. Sugrîva sent Suṣeṇa etc. there in search of Sîtā (IV. 42. 13).

JAṬĀYŪ–A vulture of the Pañcavaṭî forest killed by Rāvaṇa (I. 1. 53). The carcase burnt by Rāma (I. 1. 54). His death foreseen by Vālmîki (I. 3. 21) On his way to Pañcavaṭî Rāvaṇa met him. महाकायः भीमपराक्रमः (III. 14. 1). In reply to Rāma's enquiries (III. 14. 2) introduced himself as his father's friend (III. 14. 3). As such honoured by Rāma who further asked him to trace his descent and his name (III. 14. 4). Did so accordingly and incidentally narrated the history of the creation (III. 14. 5-32). Son of Aruṇa and Śyenî and brother of Sampāti (III. 14. 33). Offered to look after Sîtā during the absence of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (III. 14. 34). Embraced by Rāma closely (III. 14. 35). Appointed protector of Sîtā, as such accompanied Rāma into the Pañca-vaṭī (III. 14. 36). Seen by Sîtā while she was being abducted by Rāvaṇa and charged to give that piece of information to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (III. 49.36-40). Roused from sleep by the cries of Sîtā, saw her being abducted by Rāvaṇa (1II. 50.1). पर्वतशृंगाभः तीक्ष्णतुण्डः खगोत्तमः बनस्पतिगतः (III. 50.2). Advised Rāvaṇa not to molest the innocent Rāma and then challenged him to fight a duel (III. 50.3-28). पुराणे धर्मे स्थितः सत्यसंश्रवः (III. 50.3). गृध्रराजः महाबलः (III. 50.4). Born 60,000 years ago, since then he had been ruling over his ancestral dominions (III. 50.20). Fought a hard-contested battle with Rāvaṇa in the aerial regions in the course of which scratched his body mercilessly, broke two bows and his chariot; killed the horses and the charioteer, and unseated Rāvaṇa from his car. Praised by all creatures for his bravery. Wounded Rāvaṇa with his bills and talons, lopped off his set of left arms. At last his wings and talons were cut off by Rāvaṇa and he dropped down mortally wounded (III. 51.1-43).

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महातेजाः (III. 51.13). **बली** (III. 51.15). **श्रीमान् पक्षीराजः** (III. 51.18). **वीर्यवान्** (III. 51.33). **नखपक्षमुखायुधः** (III. 51.35). **अरिन्दमः** (III. 51.38). **अतूलवीर्यः** (III. 51. 41). **नीलजीमूतनिकाशकल्पः सपाण्डुरोरस्कः उदारवीर्यः** (III. 51. 45). His loss mourned by Sîtā (III. 51.46). Finding Rāma rushing at him with his bow and arrow drawn ready for use, informed him of the abduction of Sîtā by Rāvaṇa, the story of his resistance and the mortal wounds inflicted by the enemy (III. 67.13-20). Embraced by Rāma (III. 67.21). In reply to Rāma's anxious enquiries (III. 68.1-7) told that Rāvaṇa had taken her towards the south by the aerial route, foretold that Rāma would recover Sîtā in no time by destroying the might of Rāvaṇa. So saying died vomitting blood mixed with flesh (III. 68.8-17). His death mourned by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who duly performed his last rites (III. 68. 18-38). His whole-hearted devotion to the cause of Rāma highly praised by Aṅgada in the presence of Sampāti (IV. 56. 9-14). **धर्मज्ञः** (IV. 56.12). **गुणज्ञः श्लाघनीयः विक्रमैः** (IV. 56.21). His death at the hands of Rāvaṇa described by Aṅgada (IV. 57. 9-11). Accompanied by his brother, Sampāti, vanquished Indra, but was overcome by Sūrya (IV. 58. 4-6). **कामरूपिन्** (IV. 60. 19). Dropped down senseless in Janasthāna (IV. 61. 16). Remembered gratefully by Sîtā (V. 26. 16-17).

JAṬĪ—A great Nāga chief vanquished by Rāvaṇa (VI. 7. 9).

JANAKA I—Son of Mithi and founder of the royal line of the Janakas. His son was Udāvasu (I. 71. 4).

JANAKA II—Rājā of Mithilā. **शूरः सत्यवादी महाभागः** (I. 13. 21). His future relation with Daśaratha predicted by Vasiṣṭha. Sumantra deputed to fetch him to Ayodhyā to witness the performance of the Aśvamedha (I. 13. 22).

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परमधर्मिष्ठः Celebrated a sacrifice which was attended by Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (I. 31. 6). In possession of a wonderful jewel of bows (I. 31. 7). **महात्मा** (I. 31. 11). Ruled over Mithilā (I. 48. 10). Received Viśvāmitra etc. warmly, accompanied by due forms (I. 50. 6-8). Offered them seats and then asked the Ṛṣi to wait till the Devas appeared to claim their due shares (I. 50. 12-16). Enquired about Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (I. 50. 17-21). Viśvāmitra after relating their adventures told him that they had come to examine the Great Bow (I. 50. 22-25). Having eulogised Viśvāmitra took leave of him to attend the sacrificial session (I. 65. 31-39) **वैदेहः मिथिलाधिपः** (I. 65. 39). Next morning received Viśvāmitra and the Princes in audience. **धर्मात्मा** (I. 66. 1-3). **महात्मा** (I. 66. 4). On being requested by Viśvāmitra to show the bow to the Princes (I. 66. 4-6) related the history of the bow and concluded by promising to marry Sîtā to Rāma if he could bend the bow (I. 66. 7-26). At the request of Viśvāmitra, asked his men to bring the bow—garlanded and besmeared in scents (I. 67. 1-2). When the bow was brought in (I. 67. 3-5) in glowing terms described its potency, how it had baffled the attempts of the Devas and the Asuras, what to speak of men ; then asked Viśvāmitra to show it to the Princes (I. 67. 7-11). The noise produced by the cracking bow did not overpower him (I. 67. 19). **वाक्यज्ञः** Congratulated Rāma on his success and requested permission to send his men to Ayodhyā to bring Daśaratha over to Mithilā (I. 67. 20-26). With the consent of Viśvāmitra, did so (I. 67. 27). Learning that Daśaratha had reached Videha, made arrangements for receiving him formally. **श्रीमान्** (I. 69. 7). Received him warmly and proposed to celebrate the marriage next morning (I. 69. 8-13). Performed the rites and ceremonies connected with marriage at night. **महातेजाः** (I. 69. 18). Next morning

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sent for his brother Kuśadhvaja from Sāṅkāśya (I. 70. 1-4). On his arrival the two brothers seated themselves on the thrones and sent for Daśaratha and the Princes (I. 70. 9-12). **धर्मवत्सलः** (I. 70. 9). **अमितद्युतिः** (I. 70. 10). **वीरः** (I. 70. 11). On hearing out Vasiṣṭha who recited the genealogical table of the Ikṣvākus (I. 70. 14-45) traced his own descent from Nimi and described how he annexed Sāṅkāśya and gave it away to his brother (I. 71. 1-19). Promised to give Sîtā in marriage to Rāma and his second daughter, Ūrmilā, to Lakṣmaṇa (I. 71. 20-22). Requested Daśaratha to perform the rites and ceremonies preceding the marriage ceremony which was to take place on the third day (I. 71. 23-24). At the request of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra consented to give the two daughters of Kuśadhvaja in marriage to Bharata and Śatrughna (I. 72. 11-12). Honored the two Ṛṣis (I. 72. 15). **असंख्येयगुणः** (I. 72. 18). Vasiṣṭha having sought for permission to introduce the groom's party, gladly gave it and said that he too was ready with the girls (I.73.10-16.) **महातेजाः परमधर्मवित्** (I. 73. 13). Requested Vasiṣṭha to conduct the ceremony (I. 73. 18-19).. When the fire was lit up and the offerings were made by Vasiṣṭha, he placed Sîtā in front of the fire facing Rāma, then he formally requested Rāma to accept his daughter Sîtā as his life-long companion. So saying he sprinkled the holy water on them (I. 73. 24-28). Asked Lakṣmaṇa to put his hands in those of Ūrmilā (I. 73. 30-31) ; Bharata in those of Māṇḍavī (I. 73. 31-32) ; Śatrughna in those of Śrutakīrti (I. 73. 32-33). Gave suitable presents to his daughters while they were leaving for Ayodhyā (I. 74. 3-7). Not invited by Daśaratha while the latter intended to appoint Rāma as the Crown-Prince (II. 1. 48). Presented with a few weapons on the occasion of a sacrifice by Varuṇa, which he passed on to Rāma at the time of latter's marriage (II. 31. 29-30).

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Remembered by Kausalyā on the death of Daśaratha (II. 66. 7; 11). वृद्धः अल्पपुत्रः (II. 66. 11). Sītā introduced herself as the daughter of— ; महात्मा (III. 47. 3). Rāma guessed the grief of Janaka when he would learn the fate of his daughter (III. 62. 12-14). Remembered by Rāma while mourning the loss of Sītā (IV. 1. 106). The jewel given him by Indra, was transferred to Sîtā at time of her marriage (V. 66. 4-5). Dismissed by Rāma with due honour (VII. 38. 2-7).

JANAMEJAYA—The blind old father prayed that his son who had been killed by Daśaratha might go to the abode where Janamejaya dwelt (II. 64. 42).

JANASTHĀNA—Śūrpanakhā was an inhabitant of that place (I. 1. 46). Had a colony of 14000 Rākṣasas who were killed by Rāma (I. 1. 47—48). For fear of the Rākṣasas the ascetic-colony moved from—(II. 116. 11—25). Inhabited by Khara and other Rākṣasas (III. 18. 25). The news of the massacre of the Rākṣasas communicated to Rāvaṇa by Akampana (III. 31. 1—2). The same fact communicated to Mārīca by Rāvaṇa (III. 31 40). Having Killed Mārīca Rāma hastened towards—(III. 44. 27). Charged by Sītā to carry the news of her abduction to Rāma (III. 49. 30). राक्षसैः बहुभिः कीर्णम्, नानाद्रुमलतायुतम् (III. 67. 5—6). Rāma's aerial car passed across—(VI. 123. 42—45). Modern name of the Daṇḍaka (VII. 81. 20).

JAMADAGNI—Son of Ṛcika and father of Paraśu-Rāma. Received the great Vaiṣṇava Bow from his father. Killed by Rājā Kārtavîrya Arjuna when he had laid aside his weapons. महात्मा अप्रतिकर्मा तपोबलसमन्वितः (I.75.22—24). Came from the north to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1. 6).

JAMBU-MĀLĪ—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanumān (V. 6. 21.) At the desire of Rāvaṇa (V. 42. 44) fought a duel with Hanumān and was killed

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(V. 44. 1—18). Son of Prahasta. **बली महादंष्ट्रः धनुर्धरः** (V. 44. 1). **रक्तमाल्याम्बरधरः स्रग्वी रुचिरकुण्डलः महान् विवृत्तनयनः चण्डः समरदुर्जयः** (V. 44. 2). **महातेजाः** (V. 44. 6). **महाबलः** (V. 44. 13). **महारथः** (V. 44. 18). Hanumān set fire to his house (V. 54. 11). Fought a duel with Hanumān (VI. 43. 7). Wounded Hanumān on the breast (VI. 43.21).

JAMBŪDVĪPA—Surrounded by hills, dug open by Sagara's sons (I. 39. 22). Lies to the north of Saumanas Mt. (IV. 40. 59).

JAMBŪ-PRASTHA—A village where Bharata on his way back from Kekaya, broke his journey (II. 71. 11).

JAMBHA—A Vānara chief who hurried on the invading army to the South during its march to Laṅkā (VI. 4. 36).

JAYANTA (i)—A counsellor of Daśaratha (I. 7. 3). Went out to receive Rāma on his return (VI. 127. 11).

JAYANTA (ii)—A messenger sent by Vasiṣṭha on the death of Daśaratha to bring back Bharata to Ayodhyā (II.68.5). Reached Rāja-gṛha (II. 70.1). Well-received by the Rājā and the prince, approached Bharata, delivered Vasiṣṭha's message and handed over the presents to him (II. 70.2-5). Replied to Bharata's enquiries and requested him to make haste (II. 70.11-12).

JAYANTA (iii)—Son of Indra and Śacī. **अपराजित :।** Fought a duel with Megha-nāda, at the head of the divine army. At last abducted by his maternal grandfather, Pulomā (VII. 28.6-20).

JAYĀ—A daughter of Dakṣa. Gave birth to hundreds of weapons (I. 21.15). Having been granted a boon she produced fifty invisible weapons as sons for the destruction of the Asuras (I. 21.16).

JALODA SEA, The—One found oneself there after crossing the Kṣīroda ocean. **सर्वभूतभयापहः ।** In the waters

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of which Brahman placed the ocean-fire arising out of the wrath of Aurva Ṛṣi. Where one hears the continuous sound of lamentation raised by the water animals for fear of being burnt to death (IV. 40.47-49). Sweet-watered (IV. 40.50). Sugrīva asked Vinata to go there in search of Sītā (IV. 40.16).

JAVA—Father of Virādha the Rākṣasa (III. 3.5).

JAHNU—A Ṛṣi whose sacrificial area was overflooded by Gaṅgā. Being angry he drank off the water. Appeased by the Devas etc. who conceded that Gaṅgā was his daughter. Released her by way of the ears (I. 43.25-38).

JĀTA-RŪPA-ŚILA, The—Hills situated to the north of the Jaloda Seas. 13 Yojanas in length. सुमहान् कनकप्रभः । There dwelt the moon-white snake which supported the Earth. Sugrīva asked Vinata to go there in quest of Sītā (IV. 40. 50-51).

JĀBĀLI—A sacrificing priest of Daśaratha (I. 7.5). Came to Ayodhyā when sent for by the king for performing the Aśvamedha (I. 8.6). On the way to Mithilā the coveyance carrying him preceded that of Daśaratha (I. 69.5-6). On the morning following the death of Daśaratha attended the court and advised Vasiṣṭha to appoint a king without delay (II. 67.5-8). ब्राह्मणोत्तम : (II. 108.1). In support of Bharata tried to persuade Rāma to return to Ayodhyā by preaching his Epicurian views. In short, he wanted Rāma to believe that he owed no duties to his father who was dead and gone and that in pursuit of visionary ideals, he ought not to resign things which were sure to come (II. 108. 2-18).

[Jābāli did not believe in the efficacy of Śrāddhas, Sacrifices, asceticism, gifts and worshipping the gods (II. 108. 14-16)]. Seeing that Rāma had taken his argument in an

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unfavourable light, excused himself by saying that he was not an atheist, but did reason in that way simply to persuade him to return to Ayodhyā (II. 109. 37-39). Returned to Ayodhyā with Bharata. **दृढ़व्रतः** (II. 113. 2). Helped Vasiṣṭha in conducting the coronation ceremony of Rāma (VI. 128. 60). Summoned by Rāma entered his presence-chamber and was duly received (VII. 74. 4-5). Consulted by Rāma on the eve of his Aśvamedha sacrifice (VII. 91. 2). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā at Rāma's court (VII. 96. 2).

JĀMBAVĀN—A bear created by Brahmā from his yawn (I. 17. 7). Partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrīva (IV. 26. 35). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly decorated house at Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33. 11). **ऋक्षराजः महातेजा:** Supplied 10 Krores of soldiers to Sugrîva (IV. 39. 26-27). Sugrīva wanted to send him to the south in search of Sītā. **महौजा:** (IV. 41. 2). Having ran-sacked the Vindhyās entered the Ṛkṣa cave in search of water (IV. 50. 1-8). The words of Sampāti put him in high glee and anxiously enquired if any body had seen Sītā being abducted by Rāvaṇa (IV. 59. 1-4). The oldest of all the Vānara chiefs. In reply to Aṅgada's appeal told that even at that advanced age he could easily jump across 90 yojanas (IV. 65. 10-17). In reply to Aṅgada's offer (IV. 65. 18-19) persuaded him that he should give his servants the first chance (IV. 65. 20-27). **वाक्यकोविदः** (IV. 65. 20) **महाप्राज्ञः** (IV. 65. 28). In reply to Aṅgada's protest (IV. 65. 28-32) suggested the name of Hanumān who alone could carry out the task (IV. 65. 33-35). Describing the early life of Hanumān and his marvellous adventures, appealed to him to gird up his loins for jumping across the sea—since he had become old and cripple (IV. 66. 1-37). Went round the earth 21 times at the time of Vāmana Avatāra and threw heaps of medicines into the sea

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by churning which, the Amṛta was produced (IV. 66. 32-33). Finding Hanumān ready to take a leap across the sea extended a hearty send-off and promised to do penance standing on one leg till he returned safely (IV. 67. 30-35). On hearing the loud roars of Hanumān on his return journey (V. 57. 14-18) told the Vānaras about his success (V. 57. 22-23). **हरिश्रेष्ठः** (V. 57. 22). Asked Hanumān to describe to them in detail everything that happened since he left them (V. 58. 3—6). **अर्थवित्** (V. 60. 14). In reply to Aṅgada's proposal (V. 60. 1-13) said that they should carry out the orders of Rāma and Sugrîva to the very letter, so proposed that they should return without delay with this piece of news (V. 60. 14-20). Placed in charge of the flank of the invading army by Rāma (VI. 4. 20). Did as directed (VI. 4. 34). **शास्त्रबुद्ध्या विचक्षणः** (VI. 17. 45). In reply to Rāma's request (VI. 17. 31-33) thought they had reasons to suspect the motives of Bibhīṣaṇa (VI. 17. 45—46). Placed in charge of the flank of the army (VI. 24. 17). Younger brother of Jāmbavān, mightier than his brother (VI. 27. 10.) **प्रशान्तः गुरुवर्ती संप्रहारेषु अमर्षणः** (VI. 27. 11). Helped Indra during his wars with the Asuras (VI. 27. 12). Son of Gadgada (VI. 30. 20). Was to lead the attack against the central fortress along with Bibhīṣaṇa (VI. 37. 32). Fought near the central stronghold with his army (VI. 41. 44-45). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 46. 19). Carefully guarded the Vānara army (VI. 47.2-4). At the desire of Sugrîva (VI. 50. 8—10) re-assembled the disorganised Vānara army (VI. 50. 11). Killed Mahānāda (VI. 58. 22). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 45). **स्वभाव जरया युक्तः, वृद्धः,** Covered with arrows, appeared like extinguishing fire (VI. 74. 14). In reply to Bibhīṣaṇa's query (VI. 74. 15) haltingly said that he could recognise him by his voice as he had lost his eyes; further enquired if Hanumān till then lived (VI. 74.

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16-18). In reply to Bibhîṣaṇa's query (VI. 74. 19-20) said that he cared much for the life of Hanumān because every wrong would be set right if he lived (VI. 74 21-23). When Hanumān came (VI. 74. 24) directed him to go to the Oṣadhi Parvata and requested him to fetch four medicines that wonld revive the Vānaras (VI. 74. 26—34). At the desire of Rāma (VI. 76. 56-57) ran to the assistance of Aṅgada (VI. 76. 60). In obedience to Rāma's order (VI. 83. 1-3) proceeded to the battle-field with his Ṛkṣas to render assistance to Hanumān (VI. 83. 4). But stopped on the way by Hanumān, he returned (VI. 83. 5-6). In response to Bibhīṣaṇa's appeal (VI. 89. 7-19) fought with his Ṛkṣas against the followers of Indrajit (VI. 89. 20-24). His joy knew no bounds when Lakṣmaṇa recovered (VI. 91. 28). Crushed to death the horses and demolished the chariot of Mahā-Pārśva (VI. 98. 8-9). Overpowered by Mahā-Parśva with arrow shots (VI. 98. 11-12). On the occasion of Rāma's coronation fetched the water of 500 rivers (VI. 128. 52-53) Returned home after being duly honoured with the bestowal of gifts (VI. 128. 85-86). Greeted and honoured by Rāma (VII. 39. 21). Asked by Rāma to stay on in the world. ब्रह्मसुतः वृद्धः (VII. 108. 33).

JYOTIR-MUKHA—A Vānara chief, son of Sūrya, who joined the expeditionary force (VI. 30. 32). Attacked Rāvaṇa with a huge stone but disabled (VI. 59. 42—43). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 60).

TAKṢA—Son of Bharata, वीरः (VII. 100. 16). Consecrated by Rāma (VII. 100. 19). Accompanied the invading army to Kekaya (VII. 100. 20).

TAKṢAKA—Defeated by Rāvaṇa and his wife captured by force (III. 32. 14); (VI. 7. 9).

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(IV. 53. 25—26). **ताराधिपवर्चस्** (IV. 54. 1). In reply to Rāvaṇa's enquiry (VII. 34. 1—3) replied that his match, Vālin had gone to office the morning prayars to the four seas and that if he was impatient to meet his antagonist then he might repair to the western sea (VII. 34. 4—10). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII. 36. 47).

TĀRĀ—Wife of Vālin—he took leave of her (I. 1. 69). Her grief foreseen by Vālmîki (1. 3. 24). Vālin before going out to fight Dundubhi sent her away (IV. 11. 37). While Vālin was going out to meet Sugrīva in a duel, advised him not to fight with him as he had secured the alliance of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, but to conciliate him by appointing him the Yuvarāja (IV. 15.6—30). **ताराधिपनिभानना** (IV. 16. 1). Vālin having sworn to spare his brother's life (IV. 16. 1—10) she retired after embracing him and performing the *Svastyayana* ceremony (IV. 16. 11–12). **प्रियवादिनी दक्षिणा** (IV. 16. 11). **मन्त्रविद् विजयैषिणी** (IV. 16. 12). **सर्वज्ञा** (IV. 17. 41). **तपस्विनी** (IV. 18. 55). Dropped down from an eminence on hearing the news of the assassination of Vālin (IV. 19. 3–4). Tried to stop the Vānaras who were leaving town out of fright. **सती** (IV. 19. 6—9). **जीवपुत्रा** (IV. 19. 11). **रुचिरानना** (IV. 19. 15). **चारुहासिनी** (IV. 19. 17). On hearing the nervous answer returned by the Vānaras, out of despair went to her dying husband weeping bitterly (IV. 19. 17—21). Cutting Rāma and Sugrīva ran towards Vālin and on seeing him fell flat on the ground and began to weep (IV. 19. 25—27). **भामिनी** (IV. 20. 2). Mourned the loss of her husband along with her co-wives (IV. 20. 1—25). **अनिन्द्यवर्णा** (IV. 20. 26). Took to fasting out of grief (IV. 20. 26). Refused to leave the side of her dying husband (IV. 21. 12—16), when consoled by Hanumān (IV. 21. 1—11). **पण्डिता** (IV. 21. 5).

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अनिन्दिता (IV. 21. 8). **सुषेणदुहिता चेयमर्थसूक्ष्मविनिश्चये। औत्पातिके च विविधे सर्वतः परिनिष्ठिता** (IV. 22. 13). On the death of Vālin fell frantically on the corpse (IV. 22. 31). Then smelling his face fondly, bitterly regretted her widowhood and the helpless condition of her only child (IV. 23. 1–17). When Nīla had extracted the deadly barb from Vālin's heart (IV. 23. 17—19) bathed the wound with tears, then asked Aṅgada to take leave of his father and in touching words mourned his loss (IV. 23. 20–30). **लोकश्रुता** (IV. 23. 1). Rāma saw her lying in the battle-field embracing the corpse of Vālin, surrounded by the ministers who were trying to separate her (IV. 24. 25–26). **कपिसिंहनाथा अदीनसत्त्वा** (IV. 24. 26). **मृगशावनेत्रा** (IV. 24. 28). While being removed recognised Rāma and rushing towards him frantically prayed that she too, might be put to death like Vālin. And then assured him that by so doing he would not commit a fresh sin as she was part and parcel of Vālin's soul (IV. 24. 27–41). **आर्या** (IV. 24. 29). **मनस्विनी** (IV. 24. 30). **वीरपत्नी सुवेशरूपा** Held her peace when consoled by Rāma (IV. 24. 44). Followed the funeral procession of Vālin weeping bitterly (IV. 25. 35—36). Mourned the death of her husband when the bier was placed on the river bank till separated by other Vānaris (IV. 25. 39—48). Offered water in memory of Vālin (IV. 25. 51—53).. Appropriated by Sugrīva on the death of Vālin (IV. 29. 4). Saluted by Aṅgada (IV. 31. 37). At the desire of Sugrīva went out to meet Lakṣmaṇa. **प्रियदर्शना, सुभ्रूः, अनिन्दिता, प्रस्खलन्ती, मद-विह्वलाक्षी, प्रलम्बकाञ्चीगुणहेमसूत्रा, सुलक्षणा, नमितांगयष्टिः** (IV. 33. 31—38) In her drunken state enquired about the cause of Lakṣmaṇa's wrath (IV. 33. 40—41). **कार्यतत्त्वज्ञा** (IV. 33. 49). In reply to Lakṣmaṇa's charges against Sugrīva (IV. 33. 43—49) made excuses on his behalf and assured

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him that steps had already been taken to muster the Vānaras from all quarters, then requested him to see the king in the harem (IV. 33. 50—61). Tried to appease the wrath of Lakṣmaṇa (IV. 35. 1—23). Her appropriation by Sugrīva during the temporary absence of Vālin recalled (IV. 46. 9). At the desire of Sugrīva (VI. 123. 29—32) got ready with other Vānara ladies and took her seat on the car bound for Ayodhyā. सर्वांगशोभना (VI. 123. 33—37).

TĀREYA—A Vānara chief, created to help Rāma (VII. 36. 47).

TĀRKṢYAS, The—Produced Vānara children who could render aid to Rāma (I. 17. 21).

TĀLAJAṄGHĀS—The Rājā of which country defeated Asita (I. 70. 27-29).

TIMIDHVAJA—Vide Śambara (II. 9. 12-13).

TUMBURU—A Gandharva chief, whose services were requisitioned by Bharadvāja in the matter of entertaining the army of Bharata (II. 91. 18). Sang in the presence of Bharata (II. 91. 46). Cursed by Kuvera assumed the form of Virādha for his excessive attachment for Rambhā (III. 4. 16-19).

TṚṆABINDU—Lived in his hermitage near the Meru Hills (VII. 2. 7). राजर्षिः (VII. 2. 14). On finding that his daughter manifested all signs of pregnancy (VII. 2. 17) enquired what the matter was (VII. 2. 19). On hearing the answer of his daughter (VII. 2. 20-22) through meditation came to know the actual facts ; then taking the girl with him to Pulastya requested him to accept her as his wife (VII. 2. 23-26). तपसा द्योतितप्रभः (VII. 2. 23).

TṚṆABINDU'S DAUGHTER—Ignorant of the curse of Pulastya (VII. 2. 12-13) went near her father's hermitage in search of her companions. Instantaneously she was

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big with a child. Being perturbed approached her father (VII. 2. 14-18). In reply to her father's anxious enquiries (VII. 2. 19) faithfully described what had come to pass (VII. 2. 20-22). Married to Pulastya (VII. 2. 27) pleased him mightily through her self-less devotion (VII. 2. 28-29). By favour of Pulastya gave birth to a son Viśravā by name (VII. 2. 32).

TORAṆA—Bharata on his way back from Kekaya passed through the south of this village (II. 71. 11).

TRIKŪṬA—Name of a hill in Laṅkā seated on which Hanumān took a view of Laṅkā (V. 2. 1). On the pointed peak of which was situated Laṅkā (VI. 39. 17-19). Its caves rang with the din of battle (VI. 44. 26).

TRIJAṬĀ (i)—A Brāhmaṇa of the Gārgya family, tawny coloured, lived in the forests on roots etc. which he dug up (खातवृत्तिः) (II. 32. 29). The old man had a young wife and a brood of children (II. 32. 30). At his wife's suggestion approached Rāma and related his poverty (II. 32. 30-35). Lustrous like Bhṛgu and Aṇgirasa (II. 32. 33). At the suggestion of Rāma threw his stick which covered the cow preserve of Rāma on the other bank of the Sarayū (II. 32. 37-38). Received all those cows (II. 32. 39). Retired with his wife blessing Rāma profusely. महामुनिः (II. 32. 43).

TRIJAṬĀ (ii)—A Rākṣasī. Her dream foreseen by Vālmīki (I. 3. 31). वृद्धा Finding that the Rākṣasīs were scolding Sītā told them that she had dreamt horrible dreams (V. 27. 4-6). On enquiry (V. 27. 7-8) described her dreams that indicated the victory of Rāma over the Rākṣasas and the destruction of Rāvaṇa and his relatives. Then asked the Rākṣasīs not to behave rudely with their captive (V. 27. 9-46). Sent for by Rāvaṇa (VI. 47. 6). At the desire of Rāvaṇa (VI. 47. 5-10) placed Sītā on the Puṣpaka car and kept her company

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during flight (VI. 47. 11-14). Never told a lie before nor was she prepared to do so in future (VI. 48.29). Advancing various reasons tried to impress the idea on Sîtā's mind that the princes were not dead (VI. 48. 22-33). Returned to the Aśoka Park along with Sîtā (VI. 48. 35-36).

TRIPURA—The three cities which Śiva pierced with the bow and arrows given him by the Devas (I. 75. 12). Referred to (III. 64. 72) (V. 54. 30) (VI. 71. 74).

TRIŚAṄKU—Thought of proceeding to heaven by celebrating a sacrifice. **सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः** (I. 57. 10-12). Vasiṣṭha having ridiculed the idea (I. 57. 12-13), approached his hundred sons who also refused to undertake the task Finding him determined to carry out his purpose with extraneous help, they cursed him (I. 58. 2-9). On the morning following became a Caṇḍāla (I. 58. 10-11). Deserted by the ministers and citizens (I. 58. 11-12). All alone approached Viśvāmitra who pitied him. Rājā of Ayodhyā (I. 58. 12-16). At the desire of Viśvāmitra, narrated his previous history, then appealed to him to take up his cause merely to establish the superiority of Human Endeavour over Providence. **मया चेष्टं क्रतुशतम् अनृतं नोक्तपूर्वम् प्रजा धर्मेण पालिता गुरवश्च महात्मानः शीलवृत्तेन तोषिताः** (I. 58. 17-24). **वाक्यज्ञः** (I. 58. 17). Viśvāmitra promised to take up his cause. **सुधार्मिकः नृपपुंगवः** (I. 59. 2–5). Deputed to heaven on the responsibility of Viśvāmitra (I. 60. 15-16). **धर्मिष्ठः वदान्यः** (I. 60. 2). Extradicted by Indra and other Devas, fell head foremost (I. 60. 16-18). His fall stayed by Viśvāmitra (I. 60. 20). Out of wrath created a fresh heaven for him with its stars and planets and then proceeded to create a fresh set of Devas (I. 60. 21-23). On this the Devas approached him and a compromise was arrived at according to which the Rājā was to live head downwards in the midst of the fresh heaven created by the Ṛṣi

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(I. 60. f30-33). Son of Pṛthu and er of Dhundumāraaht (I.70. 24).

TRIŚIRĀ(i)—A Rākṣasa of Janasthāna killed by Rāma (I. 1. 47). His death foreseen by Vālmîki (I. 3. 20). A general of Dūṣaṇa (III. 23. 33). Only he along with Khara remained alive of the 14,000 soldiers of Khara (III. 26. 35-37). **वाहिनीपतिः** (III. 27. 1). Persuaded Khara to allow him to fight with Rāma before he himself went to give battle (III. 27. 1-5). Having received the permission (III. 27. 6) drove towards Rāma discharging sharp arrows and making a fearful noise (III. 27. 7—8). Put up a stiff fight and wounded Rāma on the forehead (III. 27. 10-11). 14 arrows discharged by Rāma pierced his heart; his horses and charioteer killed (III. 27. 13—15). His three heads lopped off by means of 3 arrows (III. 27. 16-18).

TRIŚIRĀ (ii)—**यशस्वी शशिप्रकाशः** Accompanied Rāvaṇa to the battle-field holding a sharp pike in his hand and riding on a bull (VI. 59. 19). Nephew of Kumbhakarṇa who mourned the loss of his uncle (VI. 68. 7). Consoled Rāvaṇa and offered to go to the battle-field himself (VI. 69. 1-7). A son of Rāvaṇa. **शक्रतुल्यपराक्रमः वीरः अन्तरिक्षगतः मायाविशारदः त्रिदशदर्पघ्नः समरदुर्मदः सुबलसम्पन्नः विस्तीर्णकीर्तिः** Never suffered a defeat. **अस्त्रवित् युद्धविशारदः प्रवरविज्ञानः लब्धवरः शत्रुबलार्दनः भास्करतुल्यदर्शनः** (VI. 69. 10-14). Son of Rāvaṇa, started for the battle-field taking leave of Rāvaṇa (VI. 69. 17—19). Went to the battle-field driving in a chariot and holding a bow and arrows in his hand (VI. 69. 22-24). On the death of Narāntaka made a rush at Aṅgada driving in a chariot (VI. 70. 1-4). In the course of the fight cut off the trees and stones flung at him and wounded Aṅgada on the forehead with arrows (VI. 70. 6—19). Fought with Nîla (VI. 70. 22). (VI. 70. 26). Fought a contested duel

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with Hanumān in the course of which lost his horse, arms and ultimately his life (VI. 70. 32-48).

TVAṢṬĀ—One of the Ādityas: went out bravely to fight against the Rākṣasas (VII. 27. 36).

DAKṢA—Jayā and Suprabhā were his daughters (I. 21. 15). The destruction of his sacrifice referred to (I. 66. 9). A Prajāpati who followed Pulaha (III. 14. 9). Had sixty daughters (III. 14. 10).

DAṆḌA (i)—A Rākṣasa chief, son of Sumālin and Ketumatī (VII. 5. 38-39).

DAṆḌA (ii)— The youngest son of Ikṣvāku, मूढः अकृत-विद्यः अल्पतेजाः; deputed to rule over the country lying between the Vindhya and the Śaivala hills. Founded the town Madhumanta—his capital, and appointed Uśanā his priest. Thus he ruled mightily over the kingdom (VII. 79. 14-20). दान्तात्मा (VII. 80. 2). सुदुर्मेधाः (VII. 80. 5). Once in the month of Caitra visited his priest's hermitage ; there coming across the beautiful Arajā, the eldest daughter of the Ṛṣi, was overcome by desire, and enquired who she was and made his proposal (VII. 80. 1-6). In spite of her refusal (VII. 80. 7-12) raped her and departed (VII. 80. 13-17). Following upon the curse pronounced by Śukra (VII. 81. 1-15) his kingdom was buried deep in an ash-hill in a week (VII. 81. 17-18).

DAṆḌAKA—A forest to which Rāma retired for fear of being disturbed by the citizens of Ayodhyā (I. 1. 40). There he killed Virādha and saw Agastya and other Ṛṣis (I. 1. 41). Being requested by the Ṛṣis promised to kill the Rākṣasas who haunted the forest (I. 1. 45). There he disfigured Śūrpanakhā and killed 14000 Rākṣasas including Khara

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and Dūṣaṇa (I. 1. 46-48). Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā from that place (I. 1. 53). Rāma's visit to that place foreseen by Vālmîki (I. 3. 17). Situated in the South (II. 9. 12). Kaikeyî proposed that Rāma should retire there in the garb of an ascetic (II. 11. 26-27). (II. 18. 33). Rāma consented to retire there for fourteen years (II. 19. 11). Rāma spoke to Kausalyā about his impending banishment there (II. 20. 30-31). Rāma's banishment there referred to by Kaikeyî (II. 72. 42). Rāma etc. entered (III. 1. 1). Its beautiful scenery described (III. 8. 12-15). Once Mārîca roamed about devouring the Ṛṣis (III. 38. 3). Viśvāmitra's hermitage was there (III. 38. 12-13). Thence Mārîca was thrown into the sea situated at the distance of a hundred Yojanas by Rāma (III. 38. 19). Rāvaṇa and Mārîca arrived in the vicinity of Rāma's hermitage (III. 42. 11-12). Lakṣmaṇa ransacked it in search of Sîtā in vain (III. 61. 23). Sugrîva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sîtā (IV. 41. 11). Called after Rājā Daṇḍa, lying between the Vindhyas and the Śaivala hills (VII. 81. 18-19). Also called Janasthāna (VII. 81. 20).

DAṆḌIN—A door-keeper of Sūrya, who carried Rāvaṇa's message delivered by Prahasta to Sūrya and brought His reply (VII. 23 (b). 8-14).

DADHIVAKTRA—A Vānara chief. Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly decorated house at Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33. 11). Maternal uncle of Sugrīva who was in charge of the Madhu Vana (V. 61. 9). **महावीरः** Roughly handled by the intoxicated Vānaras for trying to do his duty (V. 61. 20-24). **हरिवृद्धवीरः उग्रतेजाः** (V. 61. 21). When the guards reported the destruction of the forest at the hands of the Vānaras (V. 62. 17) attacked the intruders with a tree when Aṅgada dashed him to the ground for his impudence (V. 62. 18-27). Taking counsel with his guards went to Sugrīva to report the fact

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(V. 62. 28-38). Sugrīva having given him assurances (V. 63. 1-3) lodged a complaint against the Vānaras who had ravaged the preserved forest (V. 63. 4-12). **महाप्राज्ञ**: (V. 63. 4). Taking his departure thence returned to Madhu Vana, begged of Aṅgada to excuse him and delivered Sugrīva's message (V. 64. 1-12). Son of Candra (VI. 30. 22). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 60). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39 22).

DANŪ—A daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Kaśyapa (III. 14. 10-11). Became the mother of Aśvagrīva by favour of her husband (III. 14. 11-16). One of her sons was Kabandha (III. 71. 7).

DANTAVAKTRA—A courtier of Rāma who with light talks sought to divert his master (VII. 43. 2).

DAMAYANTĪ—Daughter of Bhîma; the devoted wife of Naiṣadha (V. 24. 12).

DARADAS, The—A country. Sugrīva asked Śatabala to ransack the towns in the north in search of Sītā (IV. 43. 12).

DARĪMUKHA—A Vānara chief who in response to Sugrîva's call supplied 1000 krors of Vānaras (IV. 39. 24). **श्रीमान** Joined Sugrîva with 10 krors of Vānaras (IV. 39. 36-37). Hurried on the Vānaras of the invading army during its march to the South (VI. 4. 36). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39. 22).

DARDURAS, The—The breeze from those mountains blew in the hermitage of Bharadvāja (II. 91. 24).

(To be Continued).

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By the Late Col. G. A. Jacob.

" अंशुं गृह्णात्यदाभ्यं गृह्णाति " (cf Āpast Śrauta XII. 7. 17),—440.

" अंशुरंशुस्ते सोमाप्यायताम् " (TS. 1.2.11.1),—72.

अदयामये मुद्गौदनो भोक्तव्यः,—8.

अदयामये मुद्गौदनभोजनं निवातशय्या च,—520, 403.

अगतिकागतिः,—500.

" अगन्मस्वः संज्योतिषा भूम " 136 (VS. ii. 25 ; Śatap. 1.9. 3. 14).

" अग्नये कृत्तिकाभ्यः etc," (TB. 3.1.4.1)—,434.

" अग्नये गृहपतय आशूनामष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत् etc." (cf. TS. 1. 8. 10.1),—750, 789.

" अग्नये छागस्य वपाया etc.",—239.

" अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि " (I offer to Agni that wh: is pleasing cf. VS.i.10 ; ii. 1),—170, 235.

" अग्नये ज्योतष्मते etc," 278, 280.

" अग्नये पवमानाय...अग्नये पावकाय etc." (TS. 2. 2.4. 2),—458, 460, 774.

" अग्नये रक्षोघ्नेऽष्टाकपालं निर्वपेद्यो रक्षोभ्यो बिभीयात् ",—828.

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" अग्नि चित्वा सौत्रामण्या यजेत " (TS. 5.6. 34),—355.

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" अग्निमुपनिधाय स्तुवते "(गर्गत्रिरात्रे),—48.
" अग्निं मथ्नन्ति प्रसुवो भवन्ति ",—15.
" अग्निं युनज्मि शवसा घृतेन etc.",—751,—2.
" अग्निर्देवो दैव्यो होता देवान्यक्षत् ",—817.
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" अग्निर्मे होता स मे होता etc." (cf. Āśv. Gṛihya 1.23.7),—352, 817(अग्निर्होता).
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अग्न्यप्राये लिखितोऽग्न्यः (Vol. i),—93.

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अङ्गभूयस्त्वेन फलभूयस्त्वम्,—566, 673.
अङ्गिरसां द्विरात्रः,—503.
" अङ्गिरसो वा इत उत्तमाः स्वर्गमायन् etc." (TS. 2.6.3. 2),—84.
" अङ्गुष्ठपर्वमात्रं etc.",—339.
" अङ्गंवासः परिधत्ते ",—876.
अच्छ (ind) 'towards,' ' obtaining, taking possession of ' (Goldstücker) ; Śabara explains it by आप्तुम् in X. 1. 91,—311—12.
" अजया क्रीणाति etc.",—423, 863.
" अजर्षभस्याजिनमवस्तृणाति ",—379.
अजामिकरण,—651, 656, 660.
अजामित्व (in Sūtra),—660.
अजावशा (see वशा in Vol. i),—459, 460.
अञ्जनाभ्यञ्जन (?),—445.
" अञ्जन्ति त्वामध्वरे देवयन्तः ",—859.
" अथवा अव्यवच्छिन्नया धारया गृह्णाति ",—511.
" अतस्त्वं देववनस्पते etc." (VS. V. 43),—313.
" अतस्त्वामग्निं शासहस्तं etc." 275.
अतिचर to offend, be unfriendly to (an ācarya etc.),—361, 758.
" अतिजगतीषु स्तुवन्ति ", 202—3.
अतिथिवत्,—137, 146.
अतिदेश, ' transference (of the details of a sacrifice)',—10 ; its varieties, 11.
अतिभार (See Vol. i) as in the sentence नास्ति वचनस्यातिभारः in every case, as also in the instances noted in Vol. i ; and may mean 'this statement is not of much weight;' on p. 300 it may mean ' obscurity,'—3, 300, 558, 872.
" अतिरात्रे गृह्णाति षोडशिनम् " (see Vol. i),—629.
अतिरात्रे ब्राह्मणस्य etc.", 494—6.

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" अत्सरूकैश्चमसैः सोमान्भक्षयन्ति " (Āpast. Śr. 23. 10. 11 ; Tāṇḍya, Brāh. 25. 4. 4. अत्सरूक, 'having no handle'), —352.
" अथ पृषदाज्यं गृह्णाति etc.",—473, 475.
" अथ यः कामयेत् वसीयान् श्रेयान् स्यां etc.",—775.
" अथ यद्यूष्परिशिष्यते etc." (?),—586.
" अथातोऽग्निष्टोमेनानुयजति etc.",—518, 638.
" अथेडामेवावद्यति etc.",—600.
" अथैतादिशामवेष्टयः etc.",—773.
" अथैष एकत्रिकः etc.",—482, 484
" अथैषभूर्वैश्वदेवः etc.",—419.
" अथो खल्वाहुः कापेया दक्षिणस्य etc.",—577.
अदक्षिणानि सत्राणि,—352. See RV. VI. 51. 1.
" अदग्धं चक्षुः",—792.
" अदितिः पाशं प्रमुमोत्स्केतम् " 242 (i. e. प्रमुमोक्तु एतम् for मुमोक्तु —See RV. 1. 24. 12).
" अदीक्षिता अहीनैर्यजन्ति ",—139 (RV. X. 116. 7).
" अदुभ्यस्त्वौषधीभ्यो जुष्टं प्रोक्षामि ",—92.
" अद्य सुत्यामागच्छ ",—754.
अध्यूध्नी, ' a tubular vessel above the adder (ऊधन्),'—585
" अध्यूध्नीं होत्रे हरन्ति " (Āpast. Ś.R. VII. 26. 7 with हरति),—585.
अध्रिगु (See TB. 3 1. 6. 4, also Goldstücker and Vedic Index. Under Ait. Brāh. 6 Sāyaṇa defines it as कश्चिद्देवः पशुविशसनस्य कर्ता),—250, 272, 277, 795—6.
अध्वरकल्पेष्टि (see Vol. i),—712.
" अध्वरस्य पूर्वमथाग्ने रूपायिऽहोतत्कर्म यदग्निकर्म ",—401, 834.
" अध्वर्युर्गृहपतिं दीक्षयित्वा etc.",—418, 561.
अनङ्गं प्रधानं कस्मैचित्प्रयोजनाय न कल्पते,—59.
अनन्वारभ्य, ' without taking hold of ' (?),—67.
अनभोज्य,—607.

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"अनया त्वापात्रेण समुद्ररसया etc.",—552, 554.

अनवानम्, 'without breathing between,' without interruption (as अनवानं गायति. See Vol. i),—198.

"अनस्थिभिरिडां वर्धयन्ति",—586, 588 (Āpast. Śrauta VII. 24. 11).

"अनांसि प्रवर्तयन्ति",—809.

अनारभ्यवाद (see Vol. i),—44, 68, 121—3, 621, 636 (वचन).

अनारभ्यविधान,—160, 503, 620, 635, 760 (all but the last are in Sūtras).

अनारभ्याधीत,—121, 642.

अनारभ्याभिहित,—247.

अनारभ्याम्नायते,—635. TS. V. 4. 312.

"अनाहुतिर्वै जर्तिलाश्च गवेधुकाश्च",—625—6. See TS. I. 8.4.1

अनीकवत् (adj.), having or occupying the prominent or principal place, principal, superior, first,—an epithet of Agni, and used chiefly when the god receives the first offerings in certain sacrifices etc. (Goldstucker),—711.

अनुप्रयोग (Pāṇini iii.4. 4),—676.

अनुमति (see Vol. i),—308—9.

"अनुयाजेष्वग्निं स्विष्टकृतं यजति",—466.

अनुवाक्या (see Vol. i),—84.

अनुषङ्ग (see Vol. i),—730.

"अनुसवनं सवनीयाः पुरोडाशा निरूप्यन्ते पिहित्यै etc.",—826, 837—8.

अनूक, 'the back bone',—581.

अनूचीत, 'coming after, successive,'—45—6, 68.

अनेकस्याप्येकः शब्दो भवति वाचकः (i. e. माता may mean either *mother* or measurer),—314.

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अनेकार्थविधानमन्याय्यम् (cf. अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम् infra),—271.

" अनो ददाति ',—46.

अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोश्चान्तरङ्गं बलीयः,—835.

अन्तरागर्भिणी न्याय,—238, 424.

" अन्तर्वेदि अन्यः पादो हेतुर्भवति बहिर्वेदि अन्यः ",—725.

" अन्तर्वेदि तिष्ठन्सावित्राणि जुहोति ",—121, 128.

" अन्तर्वेद्यां हवींष्यासादयति ",—336.

अन्त्यलोप,—479. Cf. Āpast. Śrauta xi. 21. 8.

" अन्यां यजमानस्य व्रतधुक्तां आशिरे दुहन्ति ". Quoted in Bhāmatī 1. 3. 17.

अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम्,—32, 38 ; cf. 51 and 326.

अन्येषां चाग्नेयेन वापयति etc. ",—75.

" अन्वहं द्वादशशतं ददाति ",—569, 571.

अन्वचय (see Vol. i),—442.

अन्वादिशू,—361.

अन्वादेश,—353.

अन्वारुह्य वचनमिदम् (cf. अन्वारुह्यवाद in Parimala, p. 321), —259.

अन्वाहार्य (see Vol.),—404—5, 725, 880.

अपः प्रणेष्यन्वाचं यच्छति etc. ",—750.

अपचय, 'diminution' (see उपचय),—106.

"अपचितावप्येकाहे बृहद्रथन्तरे कुर्यात् ' " (cf. Āpast. Śr. xxii. 12. 2. etc. See Garbe),—534, 544.

" अपबर्हिषः प्रयाजान्यजति ",—482, 607—8 (cf. Āpast. Śrauta viii. 8. 6).

" अपबर्हिषावनुयाजौ यजति ",—482, 607—8 (Āpast. viii 8. 10 etc.).

अपर आह,—133, 693, 722.

" अपरेण गार्हपत्यं प्रागीषम् etc.',—151.

" अप्सु मे सोमोऽब्रवीत् etc. ',—608, (Āpast Śr. viii—8. 7).

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" अप वा एष स्वर्गाल्लोकाच्यवते यो दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी सन्पौर्णमासी-ममावास्यां वाऽतिपातयेत् ",—663.

अपाट्कार (?),—457. (In Mādhava's Nyāyamālāvistara the reading is अपाट्कार.)

" अपालग्मेः प्रिया धामानि etc.",—457. (Mādhava has अषाडग्नेः etc.)

" अप्रतिष्ठिता वै त्र्यम्बकाः ",—124—5.

अप्रयाजास्ता अनुयाजाः,—605—6.

अप्राप्ते शास्त्रमर्थवत्,—792.

" अप्सु तृणं प्रास्या घारमाघारयति ",—385, 718.

" अप्सुदीक्षां प्रवेशयित्वा देवाः स्वर्गं लोकमायन् etc. ",—779.

" अप्सुमन्तावाज्यभागौ यजति ",—608, 655 (Āpast. Śr. viii. 8. 7).

" अप्स्वग्ने सधिष्टव etc. ",—608 (RV. viii. 43. 9).

" अप्स्ववभृथेन चरन्ति ",—717, 740.

" अभिघार्या इतिमीमांसन्ते ",—627.

" अभिजिता यजेत ",—(Āpast. xvii. 26. 12.), 77.

" अभित उभयतो ज्योतिर्मध्ये षडहः पशुकामो यजेत ",—842.

" अभितः सौम्यमाग्नेयौ भवतः ',—700.

" अभितो दिवाकीर्त्यमहरुभयः स्वरसामानो भवन्ति ",—45.

" अभित्वा ", (the first words of RV. vii 32. 22. viz. अभि त्वा शूर नोनुमः । So Mādhava 21, 51, 188, 203.

" अभिप्लवोऽन्वहं भवति ",—64.

अभिमर्शन,—83.

अभिवत्यः (from अभिवन्त, ' having the prep. अभि', as in RV. vii. 32. 22 quoted above, and see Sāṅkh Śrauta vii. 20. 3',—20, 21, 23. 24.

" अभीषूवा एतौ यज्ञस्य यदाधारौ etc." (See vol. i),—318.

" अभ्यातानां जुहोति ",—10. In Pâraskara Gṛihya 1. 5. 7 अभ्यातानाः is rendered " formulas aiming at hostile

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powers." A list of them is given in 1. 5. 10. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. xxix, pp. 279—80.

अभ्युच्चय, befriend, 300, 661.

अभ्युदयेष्टि (see Vol. i),—288.

" **अमावास्यायां निशि वजेत,**'—828, 830.

" **अमावास्या सुभगा सुशेवा,**" 231 (Āpast. Śr. ii. 20. 5).

अमीषिष्ठ पिण्डाः स्निह्याः क्रियन्तां,—31, 111, 277.

"**अमृतं वा आज्यं मर्त्यं हविः** etc,"—660.

" **अमृताहुतिमेवैतां करोति**,—338.

अमेध्यद्रव्य,—54.

अम्ल, 'sour curds', (**अम्लेनापि कांजिकादिना** [**आमिक्षा**] **क्रियते**),—95.

अयं घटस्त्रिषु नागदन्तकेषु स्थाप्यताम्,—195.

" **अयं यजमान आयुराशास्ते** etc.",—174, 367—8 (TS. 2.6. 9.7)

अयजुषा वत्सानपाकरोति etc.",—285—6 (cf. Āpast. Śr. viii. 9. 11).

अयुतमभिषेचनीये ददाति,—773 (see **अभिषेचनीय** in Vol. i).

अयुतं पौण्डरीके ददाति etc.",—566.

अये यजामहक (see **येयजामहे** in the Index),—621.

अरुणपराशरा नाम शाखिनः तेषां परिचरेषु स्मृतिरूपं ब्राह्मणं भवति,—9 (Who were these worthies?).

" **अरुणया पिंगाक्ष्या** etc." (TS. 6. 1. 6. 7),—5.

" **अर्धं बर्हिषो लुनाति अर्धं न**,"—56.

अर्द्धिन्, 'one who receives half,'—418 (See Manu viii. 210, and Bühler's note).

" **अलंकृत्याभिपूर्यं उपांशु यष्टव्यः**,—17.

अवट (in **यूपावट**) a have in the ground for a sacrificial post,—43.

अवभृथ,—exp atory bath,—37—9, 494, 607, 707.

" **अवभृथादागत्य वत्सत्वचं परिधत्ते** ",—842.

" **अवरक्षो दिवः सपत्नं वध्यासम्** ",—787.

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अविहितेतिकर्तव्यताक,—120.
" अवी द्वे धेनु ददाति etc.",—379.
" अवृतः सामिधेनी रन्वाह ",—819.
अवेष्टि (See vol. i),—773.
"अशीतिशतमाग्नेयं etc. " (Śloka),—490.
" अश्वः श्यावो रुक्मललाटो दक्षिण " (cf. Āpast Śr. xxii. 6. 9),—428—21—719.
अश्वकर्ण,—313.
अश्वधेनु,—58. (See धेनु)
अश्वप्रतिग्रहेष्टि (See vol. i),—786.
" अश्वशकेन क्रीणाति ,"—813.
अष्टका (See vol. i),—116—7.
अष्टका चरु,—55.
अष्टरात्र,—842.
" अष्टा कपालः प्रातः सवने etc.",—525.
" अष्टाक्षरेण प्रथमाया ऋचः प्रस्तौति ',—527.
" अष्टाक्षरेण प्रथमायामृचि प्रस्तौति ",—198.
अष्टावध्वर्युरुत्तरे विहारे हवींष्यासादयति etc,"—719,721,755.
असकृद्वचनं शब्देनानुवध्यमानमन्यमिव व्यपदिशति ",—317.
असति न्याये लिङ्गमकारणम्,—58.
असन्निहिते हि स्वस्मिन्न्याये देवदत्तोयज्ञदत्तमानमारोहति,—806.
असोमपीथ, one who is not allowed to drink the Soma-juice (e.g. a Kṣattriya or Vaiśya),—880.
असोमयाजिन्,—643—5.
अस्तुतशस्त्र (See स्तुतशस्त्र in vol. I),—501.
अस्थियज्ञ,—362—370, 372.
"अहतवासः परिधत्ते",—447.
अहर्गण, a series of days,—63, 158, 485, 572, 574, 749, 753.
अहीन (See vol i), —504, 566.
अहुताद्, not an eater of the offerings (Kṣatriyas etc. See Ait. B V. VII. 19 and Eggeling's note on 4.5.2.16),—881.

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" अहेवुन्धियमन्त्रं मे गोपाय etc." (TB. I 1. 10.3),—188-9
" आकूतिमग्निं प्रयुजं स्वाहा etc.",—398 (TS. 4.1.9.1)
"आकूत्यै प्रयुजेऽग्नये स्वाहा"—398, (TS. 1.2.2.1)
आख्याविकार,—324—5.
"आग्नावैष्णवं...निर्वपेत् सरस्वत्यै etc,"—100, 164, 307, 309, 711 (modified).
" आग्नावैष्णवं निर्वपेच्छीक्षिष्यमाणः etc." (TS. 5.5.1.4),—308, 366, 813, 834.
" आग्निमारुतादूर्ध्वमनुयाजैश्चरन्ति ",—764, 838.
"आग्नेय,—84.
आग्नेयः पशुरग्नीषोमे अलब्धव्यः etc. (See vol. i),—180.
" आग्नेयं कृष्णग्रीवमालभेत etc,"—699, 782 (cf. Âpast. XX. 13. 12).
" आग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोति ",—648 (TS. 2.2.3.3).
" आग्नेयं...निर्वपेद्रुक्कामः ,"—612—13.
" आग्नेयं पयः",—85.
" आग्नेया ग्रहा भवन्ति ",—472.
" आग्नेयी सुब्रह्मण्या भवति ",—175.
" आग्नेये वैकृते पशौ etc,"—239.
" आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपाले हिरण्यं दक्षिणा ',—773.
आग्रयण (See vol i),—17,46,404,497,500,506,840.
" आग्रयणादुगृह्णाति षोडशिनम्",—498,500.
आग्रहायणी कर्म,—55.
" आधारमाधारयति ",—606.
आचार्ये प्रोषिते आचार्यानी भवतामाचार्यः,—25.
आजिसृत, 'fighting or running for a prize' (MW),—582.
आजु होता (?),—119—3.
आज्यप,—473,475.
" आज्यभागाभ्यां प्रचर्य etc,"—653,655.
" आज्यभागौ यजति,"—316, 318, 512,—3, 608.
" आज्यभागौ यजति चक्षुषो एत्र नान्तरेति ",—310.

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" आज्यस्यैव चरुमभिपूर्य etc,"—330.
" आज्यस्यैव नावुपांशु पौर्णमास्यां यजन्",—650,653,658.
" आज्याधर्चा वसां जुहोति,"—295,297.
" आज्यैः स्तुवते etc ,"—193.
" आतिथ्यं निरवदन् etc ,"—604.
" आतिथ्येष्टि, ' guest—offering ' to Soma (vol i),—40.7.
" आदित्यः प्रायणीयः पयसि चरुः ",—283, 329 and 738 omit पयसि. Cf. Āpast. X. 4.4.
" आदित्यं घृते चरुं निर्वपेत् etc ",—125.
" आदित्यो यूपः," said of the *glittering* yūpa after it has been *oiled*,—624.
आदिमत्तादोषो वेदस्य,—142.
आधानिक, concerned with the laying of sacred fire,—874.
आधूननार्था मन्त्राः,—486.
आपराग्निक होम,—726.
आपेक्षिक, ' relative ',—413,686.
आभाषान्तं सूत्रम्,—16,37,230,697,707,756,764.
आभिचारिक, ' malevolent' (as the इषु and श्येन sacrifices),—11.
" आमनमस्य etc " (TS.2.3.9.3),—442.
आमनहोम (See vol i),—442.
आमिक्षा (ditto),—94,95.
आम्र (यथा 'अयमाम्रो यज्ञदत्तस्य पुत्रः', यथा 'आम्रेपुत्रवादः'),—38.
आयुराशिस् (in Sūtra),—373—4.
" आयुर्दा अग्ने असि आयुर्मे देहि ',—860 (TS.1.5.5.3).
आरण्यभोजन,—815.
" आरंभणीया (इष्टि),—164,307,309,831 (See Index to Jhā's Prabh. Mīmā.).
आरादुपकारक,—134, 312, 466, 467 (distinguished from सामवायिक)

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आर्त्विज्य, pertains to Brāhmaṇas only, and not to Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas,—879.

आर्थपत्य, lordship over things,—139.

आथर्वकाल (See बहिष्पवमान in Index to vol i),—763—4.

' आथर्वे प्रस्तूयमाने etc.",—371 (Āpast. xxii. 7. 24 ; Tāṇḍya xvii. 12. 5).

आवाप, repetition of something, as of the अनुलेपन of each of a number of Brāhmaṇas—(opp. of तन्त्र),—661.

आवापिक, 'additional', 'interested',—466—7.

आवापोद्वाप,—453, 661.

आवाहनवत् (in sūtra),—781.

" आवृत्तं धूर्षु स्तुवते etc.",—485, 490, 494.

" अवृत्तंपृष्ठयं षडहमुपयन्ति,—548.

आशितं भव 'that wh: satisfies,' 'satiety,' (Pāṇini iii. 2. 45),—413.

आशिर, milk mixed with Soma juice (See Vedic Index),—760—1.

" आशीर्भिः प्रस्तरं प्रहरति",—748.

आश्रये प्रवर्तमाने तदाश्रितमपि प्रवर्तते (e.g. if a piece of cloth is moved the figuring on it moves also),—81.

" आश्रावयेति चतुरक्षरमस्तु etc.",—620 (TS. 1. 6. 11. 1).

" आश्रुत प्रत्याश्रुते अजैदग्निः ",—796.

" आश्ववालः प्रस्तरः ",—388 (Āpast. x. 39. 3., TS. vi. 2. 1. 5).

" आश्विनं ग्रहं गृह्णाति " (Śatapa. iv. 2.5.12),—90, 711 and 837 (गृहीत्वा etc.). Cf. TS. vii. 2. 7. 1. 2.

" आश्विनाग्रान् गृह्णीयादामयाविनः etc.",—512, 514, 515—16.

" आसारितकं गायति " (?),—26, 28.

" आसीत सूक्तेन सूक्तस्याविच्छेदाय ",—572.

" आसोमं वहन्ति etc." (TS. vi. 1. 11. 6),—318—9.

आस्कन्दपालिकावत् (?),—820.

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"आस्ये इन्द्राबृहस्पती etc",—862.
"आहवनीयादुल्मुकेन पशुं पर्यग्निकरोति",—13.
"आहिताग्निमग्निभिर्दहन्ति यज्ञपात्रैश्च" (See Vol. i),—759.
"आ हिमवतः आ च कुमारीभ्यः (from Himâlaya to Cape Comorin),—230, 256, 326, 328.
"आहुतिभिरिव हुतादो देवान्प्रीणाति" (हुतादु=offering-eating),—139.
"आहोपुरुषिक,—802.
"इडानिगद,—172.
"इडान्ता आतिथ्या सन्तिष्ठते etc",—601-2, 783.
"इडामुपह्वयति" (TS. ii. 6. 7. 3),—600.
"इडेरन्ते हव्ये etc", (O Idā, blithesome, adorable etc; Eggeling on Śatap. iv. 5. 8. 10; VS. viii. 43),—414.
"इडोपहूता"—172.
"इदं वामास्ये हविः प्रियं etc",—862. Āpast. Śr. xvi. 26. 3.
"इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे etc",—653, 869.
"इदं स्तनं मधुमन्तं धयायाम् etc,",—751.
"इदं दधि घृतं शाकः etc,",—339, 377, 395.
"इदं ब्रह्मण इदं होतुः etc,"—347.
"इन्द्रं स्तुहि वज्रिणम् etc," (TB. ii. 8. 4. 1),—319. Śatap. iii. 3. 4. 18.
"इन्द्रा गच्छ हरि व आगच्छ etc,"—175.
"इन्द्राय वज्रिणे बृषभमालभेत",—319.
"इन्द्रो दिव इन्द्र ईशे पृथिव्याम् etc,"—139, 145 (RV. x. 89. 10).
"इन्द्रा वृत्राणि जिघ्नते,"—138, 143, (RV. viii. 17. 8).
"इमं यज्ञमवान्येव यज्ञपतिं वर्द्धान",—474.
"इमं स्तोममर्हते जातवेदसे etc." (RV. i. 94. 1),—455.
"इमे चिदिन्द्र रोदसी etc," (RV. iii. 30. 5),—138, 143.
"इयं वा अदितिः etc,"—125.

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"इषं गौस्तया तं क्रीणामि etc, "—178 (Mânava Śr. Sūtra, so Bloomfield).

"इरापद् (See Tāṇḍya viii. 6. 9. 10),—183, 851.

"इरामहं यजमाने ददानि ",—187.

"इषु, name of a Sacrifice held, like the श्येन, for malevolent purposes (आभिचारिक) and deriving from it (by अतिदेश) some of its accessories,—11. (Āpast. 22. 7. 17)

"इषे त्वेति छिनत्ति ",—853.

"इष्टं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासधारणम् " (the 2nd line of a śloka),—71.

"इष्टकाभिरग्निं चिनुते ",—156-7 (Āpast. Śr. xvi. 21. 7).

"इष्टि, an oblation of butter etc, as opposed to a Soma or animal sacrifice,—73.

"इष्टिवत् (in Sūtra),—769.

"ईजाना बहुभिर्यज्ञैः etc (a verse),—837.

"ईशानं स्वर्दृशं तस्थुषः ",—532 (See RV. vii. 32. 22).

"ईशानमस्य जगतः etc " (RV. vii. 32. 22),—139, 507.

"ईशानाय परस्वत आलभेत, "—293-4 (VS. xxiv. 28)

"ईश्वरं वै रथन्तरमुद्गातुश्चक्षुः etc, "—528.

"उक्थ्या गृह्णाति षोडशिनम् ",—498.

"उक्थ्यो वैरूपसामा etc " (Vol. i),—589.

"उख्य (See Vol. i.),—870 874.

"उग्राणि ह वा एतानि त्रीणि हवींषि etc-",—705.

"उच्छ्रयस्व वनस्पते,—858.

"उज्जिति (See Vol. i, also TS. 1. 6. 4. 1, and Sāyaṇa on 1. 7. 11. 1),—457.

"उत्कर (See Index to Jhā),—395.

"उत्करे वाजिनमासादयति etc,"—395 (Apast. Śr. viii. 2. 11).

उत्कर्ष (Vol. i),—764, 767.

"उत्तम प्रयाजः etc, "—314.

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"उत्तरार्धात्सकृद्दुहति,"—684

उत्तरावत् ('like the milking of the last cows'),—670-1.

"उत्तरेऽहन् द्विरात्रस्य गृह्यते" (cf. Apast., xxii. 14. 14). See Mādhava.

"उदन्तीरोजोधत्ते" (?),—792.

"उदयनीयोऽतिरात्रः",—96, 98.

उदस्रामये पयः पातव्यम्,—8.

उदवसानीयेष्टि (Vol. i),—355.

"उदु त्यं जातवेदसम् etc" (ṚV.i.50.1),—84 (Āpast. ŚRV. xvi. 26. 1. 3).

"उदुम्बरमुलू खलम् etc,"—679.

"उद्धीथो वा एतर्हि etc,"—221.

"उद्धीयमा इरा वा दाक्षासा",—186,

"उद्भिदा यजेत,—677. (Āpast. xxii 11. 19).

उद्धा, to be blown out, extinguished (also उद्धान),—278-9.

उपग,—443.

उपचय, 'addition' (opp of अपo),—106.

"उपनयत मेध्यादुर आशासाना",—180 (Ait. Br. ii.6 i; Āś.—val. 3.3.1).

उपखमन्त्र,—793.

"उपरिष्टात्सोमानां प्राजापत्यैश्चरन्ति",—763.

"उपवर्तीं रथन्तरपृष्ठस्य प्रतिपदं कुर्यात्",—508.

उपवर्णन 'description',—696.

उपवाद, 'censure',—629.

"उपवीता वा एतस्याग्नयो भवन्ति",—629.

"उपवेषवत् (vol i),—760.

उपवेषेण कपालान्युपदधाति",—659.

"उपशयो यूपो भवति",—49. Name of the 12th sacrificial post, so Garbe; See Śālap. 3.7.2.1. and TS. 6.6.4.4.

उपसर्जन, any word wh: by composition or derivation loses its original independence while it determines

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the sense of another word; secondary, subordinate,—116.

उपहव्योऽ निरुक्तः etc,'—427.

उपांशुयाज (vol. i),—87,89,650.

"उपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजति"—650, 654, 656, 658 (TS.2.6.6.4).

उपाख्यत्व (in Sutra),—85.

उपोद्घातक,—88.

उपोषण, 'fasting',—73.

उपास्मै गायता नरः"—181.

उभयतोदन्त (vol i),—414.

उभयसामा क्रतुः,—508, 544.

" उभयीर्जुहोत्यांग्निकीश्चाध्वरिकीश्च",—401.

उपयीर्दक्षिणा ददाति etc.",—403.

"उभे बृहद्रथन्तरे कुर्यात्",—508 R.V.I.24.8; Śatap. 4.4.5.4.

"उरुं हि राजा वरुणश्चकार etc",—274.

उरुक्रम (विष्णु), 304, 306.

"उरू प्रथस्वेति पुरोडाशं प्रथयति",—856.

"उरुप्रथा उरुप्रथस्वोरु ते यज्ञपतिः प्रथताम् etc,"—856, 335 (VS.i. 22; Śatap 1.2.2.8).

" उरु विष्णो विक्रमस्व,"—275 (AV. 7.26. 3; TS. 1.3.4.1).

उरूक (in Sūtra). Its meaning is discussed—273 (Ait. B.ii.7; TB.3.6.6.4).

उरू वै देवानां याज्यानुवाक्ये etc.",—862.

उषासानक्ता 'night and dawn',—325 (RV.i. 122.2, etc).

उस्रा, उस्रिया etc," synonyms of गो (Nighaṇṭu 2. 11, vol. i. 229),—462.

" उस्रायै वपायै मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि ",—463.

" ऊरु संस्तुते वा एते पर्वणी ",—43.

" ऊरू वा एतौ यज्ञस्य etc",—43.

" ऊर्णम्रदसं त्वा स्तृणामि",—787, 821 (VS. ii. 2. ऊर्णम्रदस = soft as wool. See ऊर्णा in *Vedix Index*).

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" ऊर्ध्वा वा अन्ये यज्ञ क्रतवः सन्तिष्ठन्ते ",—502.
" ऊर्ध्वोऽध्वरः ",—392 (VS. ii.8 ; Śatap. 1.4.5.3).
"ऊर्ध्वोऽध्वरो दिविस्पृशमहूतः etc",—394.
ऊह, 'modification'—in respect of मन्त्र, सामन्, or संस्कार when there is a transference from an original to a modified sacrifice, 129, 133.
ऊहग्रन्थ, N. of 3rd hymn book of Sāma Veda,—189.
ऊहतिशब्द is used of a गीति and not of a ऋक्,—29.
" ऊहश्चिकीर्षितः ",—190.
" ऋक्सामोवाच मिथुनीसंभवावेति ",—197, 528.
" ऋचा स्तुवते etc",—394.
"ऋचि साम गायति",—192 (Śatap. 8.1.3.3 has गीयते)
ऋषीज (vol i),—572, 574, 759.
"ऋषीजमप्सु प्रास्यति",—572, 759 (प्रहरति).
"ऋजुमाधारयति etc",—145.
ऋतं वै सोमोऽनृतं पशवः etc",—429.
ऋतपेय, N. of an Ekāha,—429, 431.
"ऋत्विगाचार्यौ नातिचरितव्यौ" (See अतिचर),—361, 758.
"ऋत्विग्भ्यो दक्षिणां ददाति",—347—8.
"ऋत्विज उपगायन्ति",—78.
"ऋषभं वाजिनं वयं पूर्णमासं यजामहे" (Āpast. 2.20.5),—231.
"एकं सामतृचे क्रियते",—195.
एकत्रिक, N. of an Ekāha sacrifice,—482.
"एकधा ब्रह्मणे परिहरति",—344.
"एकधाऽस्य त्वचमाच्छ्यतात्",—254 (TB.3.6.6.2. आच्छ्ययतात्=छिन्नां कुरुत', Sāyaṇa).
"एकधा प्रतिधापिबत्साकं सरांसि त्रिंशतम्" R. V. VIII. 77. 4. Then Indra at a single drought drank the contents of 30 pails. (Griffith),—139.
"एकविंशतिमनुब्रूयात् etc.",—491 (TS. 2.5.10.2).
एकविंशेनातिरात्रेण प्रजाकामं याजयेत् etc.,—452, 487—9.

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"एकहायनो गौर्दक्षिणा तं सङ्घेभ्याय दद्यात्",—361.
"एकादश प्रयाजानेकादशानुयाजान्" (TS.6.3.7.5.1.6.3.11.6),—74, 385.
"एकादश यूपान् धिनत्ति,"—715.
"एकादश वैतानि पशोरवदानानि",—580.
एकादशसु प्रदीपेषु तैलवर्तिसंपन्नेष्वेकस्मिन् गृहे महान्प्रकाशो भवति etc,—833.
एकादशिनी, a group of 11 yūpas (See Śatap. 3. 7. 2. 1),—49, 68, 7, 5 seems to be parts of a Sacrifice, 261, 312.
" एका दीक्षा तिस्र उपसदः ",—834.
" एकादेया etc. (Âpast XIX. 2, 8),—91.
" एका वा अस्योत्तमा स्तोत्रीया etc. ",—198.
" एकीयमत,—698. एकाहे उभे बृहद्रथन्तरे कुर्यात् ",
एकेन कृते कर्मणि द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगोऽनर्थकः,—855.
" एको द्वौ बहवोऽपि वा अहीनेन यजेरन् ",—96.
" एतत्खलु साक्षादन्नम् etc.',—294.
" एतदुब्राह्मण ऐन्द्राग्नः etc.,",—14.
" एतयैवान्नाद्यं कामं याजयेत् ",—773-4.
" एतस्यैव रेवतीषु वारवन्तीयमग्निष्टोमसाम कृत्वा ",—645, 735.
" एते असृग्रमिन्दवः etc." (RV. IX. 62. 1), 'there [Soma] drops have been poured etc.',—245.
" एतेन राजपुरोहितौ सायुज्यकामौ यजेयाताम् ",—356.
" एते वदन्ति शशवत् etc." (RV. X. 94. 2),—143.
" एतेषां राष्ट्रभृतो जुहोति etc." (cf. Pāraskara Gṛihya 1.5.7.)
" एवमेव प्रसङ्गः स्यात् etc ',—661, 797.
एष दण्ड इष्टकाकूटे तिष्ठति प्रहरानेन,—342.
" एष वै कुणपमत्ति यः सत्रे प्रतिगृह्णाति ',—559.
" एष वै दशमस्याह्नो विसर्गः ",—553.
" एष वै दर्शपूर्णमासयोरवभृथः ',—37—8.
" एष वै प्रजापतिः सप्तदशः etc.",—620.

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" एषा वै प्रतिष्ठिता बृहती etc. ",—205.
" एषोऽसि ",—860—1.
ऐककर्म्य,—664, 667.
" ऐकादशिनान्प्रायणीयोदयनीययोरतिरात्रयोरालभेत ",—535, 537.
" ऐकादशिन्यामन्वहमेकैकमालभेत ",—537.
" ऐन्द्र एकादशकपालं निर्वपेत्प्रजाकामः " (cf. TS. 2. 2.1.1.),—612.
" ऐन्द्रवायवं गृह्णाति etc. ",—578.
" ऐन्द्रवायवस्यैन्द्रवायवाग्रान् ग्रहान् गृह्णीयात् ",—511 (cf. TS. 7. 2. 7. 1.)
" ऐन्द्रवायवस्य वा एतदायतनं यच्चतुर्थमहः ",—579.
" ऐन्द्रवायवाग्रं प्रथममहः etc. ",—521.
" ऐन्द्रवायवाग्रौ प्रायणीयोदयनीयौ etc. ",—(Āpast. xxi. 14. 1. 3),—517, 519, 520, 524.
" ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपाल इन्द्राय वृत्रघ्ने etc. ",—16.
" ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेत् प्रजाकामः " (TS. 2. 2. 1. 1.),—73, 234, 674.
" ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेद्यस्य सजाता वीयुः ",—61.
" ऐन्द्राग्नो द्वादशपालो मारुत्यामिक्षा " (cf. TS. 1. 8. 3),—16, 74.
" ऐन्द्र्यामवभृथ साम गायति ",—219.
" ऐरं कृत्वोद्गेयम् " (Tāṇḍya 8. 6. 10),—183.
ऐरवत्,—272, 850.
ऐष्टिक, relating to an इष्टि,—71.
ऐष्टिक पाशुकसौमिकदार्विहौमिकानि,—741.
" ओदनानुद्धरति ",—690.
" ओषधिष्वेव पशून्प्रतिष्ठापयति ",—477.
औक्थिक्य, a गानशास्त्र belonging to the Aukthikas, singers of the Ukthas,—22.
औत्पत्तिक, ' eternal ',—22, 32, 110, 378, 412.
" औदुम्बरः सोमचमसो दक्षिणा ",—429, 431.

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" औदुम्बरीं स्पृष्ट्वा etc. ",—194.
औदुम्बरीसमानं शुक्रान्वारंभणम्,—362.
" औदुम्बरो यूपो भवति ",—75, 470—1, 614.
औपासन, the fire used for domestic worship,—324.
" कइं स्तवत् etc. ",—(RV. vi. 47. 15),—393.
क उ नु ते महिमनः etc. (RV. x. 54. 3),—394.
ककुभ्, a bullock's hump,—582.
" ककुभो राजपुत्रः प्राश्नाति ध्रुवगोपः ",—(Āpast. xxiii. 7. 9 has ककुदो),—582.
" कंकचितं चिन्वीत शीर्षचितं चिन्वीत ",—639.
कंकटकाय दधं, नापिताय दधम् (दधशब्दो भागधेयवचनः Śabara),—642.
" कण्वरथन्तरं पृष्ठं भवति ",—227, 469.
कलापवत् (in Sūtra), 320—1.
कपिञ्जलन्याय,—60, 685.
कम्बल,—12, 13.
" कयानश्चित्र आभुवो वा ",—21, 189 (RV. iv. 31. 1; SV. i. 169, ii 32).
करणमन्त्र (See vol. i),—855—6.
कर्मकर, earns a padika daily as wages (See Mahābhāṣya 1. 3. 72),—413.
कर्मफलयोः सम्बन्धे कर्म गुणतः फलं प्रधानतः,—53.
" कलया ते क्रीणामि ",—733. Also on pp. 189, 190, 219.
" कवतीषु रथन्तरं गायति ",—19—21, 30 (See Sāyaṇa on Tāṇḍya vii. 8. 3, in which the word कवतीषु occurs and is explained by कशब्दोपेतासु, *Ka* being Prajāpati).
कशवाहिनो रथाः (where Śabara gives मेदस् as equivalent of कश ?),—275.
कश्चिदुच्यते अनुवाकस्त्रिः पठयतामिति, दण्डकलितवदसौ पठयते,—522.
"कषायमवहन्ति etc.",—680.

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"कस्त्वा युनक्ति etc.", —828

"कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम",—393 (R.V.X.121.1 ; TS.iv.1. 8.4 etc.)

कांस्यभोजिवत्,—840.

कांजिका, sour gruel,—95.

काण्डवीणा, a kind of lute,—445 (Lāṭyāyana iv.2.5)

कात्यायन (compared with Pāṇini), —623.

कामशास्त्र (in sūtra),—512.

काम्बुकायन, N. of an āchārya,—195, 697.

कामेष्टि (in Sūtra),—360.

"काय एककपालः",—16, 45 (काय = devoted to Ka—Prajāpati, Śatap. 2.5.2.13).

कालाभीज्या,—(See यदभीज्या),—230.

"कालेभ्यो भवति मासो देवता संवत्सरो देवता",—(Smṛiti),—454.

"काशिकेषु शालयो भुज्यन्ते गावः पीयन्ते" (गावः = milk. M. W.),—171.

काष्ठपूलक, a bundle of wood,—156.

काष्ठवाह, 'a wood carrier' (?),—349, 416.

काष्ठान्याहर्तुं प्रस्थिते पुरुषे शाकाहरणमप्युपाधिः क्रियेत etc.",—867.

कुण्डपायिनामयन, 31, 98-9, 155 (Āpast. Śr. XXIII. 10.6. See कौण्ड०). See Kuṇḍapāyin in *Vedic Index*.

"कुण्डपायिनामयनेऽत्सरुकैश्चमसैः सोमान्भक्षयन्ति",—352. (Tāṇḍya XXV.4.4. See अत्सरुकैः)

"कुमाराश्च न पयो लभेरन्",—691.

कुम्भीवत्,—(in Sūtra),—786.

कूट,—'homeless'.

कृतारंभणीयाक, 'that has performed the *ārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi*,' —166.

कृत्वोचिन्ता,—180,181,182,365,370,432,599,600,751,827, 839,857.

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कृषिवत् (in Sūtra),—675.

"कृषिषु स्याम कृषः", described as करण्डूयनार्थो मन्त्रः,—791.

कृष्णलाः, grains of gold (to be used instead of rice-grains on certain occasions; See Jhā's *Prābh. Mī* p. 231),—301—2.

कृष्णल होम (See 'प्रयाजे प्रयाजे),—7.

"कृष्णविषाणया करण्डूयति",—748 (TS.vi.1.3.8)

"कृष्णविषाणया वासांसि विस्रंसयति" (cf Āpast. Śr. XVII.16.9),—447.

"कृष्णशीर्षा आग्नेयः",—75.

"कृष्णाजिनेन वित्रस्य दक्षिणां ददाति" (cf. Āpast. Śr. 13.5. 11, and see तुथोवो *infra*),—416.

कोप, 'contradiction', 'stultification' (See Brahmasūtra 2.1.26),—411.

कौण्डपायिनामयन,—58,70,90,807 (See कुण्ड०).

"कौत्सं भवति काण्वं भवति etc.",—448—9, 450.

क्रतुवत् (in Sūtra),—666.

क्षीरेण भुक्त्वा क्षीरेणैव भुंजीत,—645.

खलि, sediment of oil, oil-cap (M.W. on authority of a कोश),—333.

खले कपोतवद्युगपत्सन्निपतन्त्यङ्गानि,—674.

खले वाली,—a post on a threshing floor for binding oxen etc,—311, 314, 383.

" खलेवाली यूपो भवति,"—311, 381, 836 (Tāṇḍya xxi. 13.8).

" खादिरं वीर्यकामाय यूपं कुर्यात्",—81—2.

" खादिरे बध्नाति etc.,"—742.

" खादिरो यूपो भवति",—609.

गणाय स्नानं गणायानुलेपनम्,—664.

गतश्री,—'who has obtained fortune or prosperity',—(=प्राप्तश्री, so com. on Kāty. Śr. IV. 300),—280, 875.

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" गन्धर्वाप्सरसो वा एतमनुमादयन्ति"—(TS. 3. 4. 8. 4),—10.
गर्ग त्रिरात्र (Āpast. Śr. 22. 15. 1),—48.
गवामयन (See Vol i),—34, 45, 63, 78, 520, 521—2.
गवेधुक यवागू,—'rice-gruel boiled with coix barbata (MW),—625—6.
" गात्रं गात्रमस्या नूनं कृणुतात् "—277, (TB. 3. 6. 6. 3).
" गायत्रमेतदहर्भवति ",—106.
" गायत्रं प्रथममहः etc. ",—486.
" गायत्रो मध्यमः परिधिः etc. ",—525.
" गायत्र्या परिदध्यात् ",—112.
" गावो वा एतत्सत्रमासत ",—178.
गीति, defined,—212.
गुणकामाः—'accessories and desires',—81.
गुणेदन्ता विकार,—426.
" गुदेनोपयजति प्राणो वै गुदः",—864.
" गृहपतिर्गृहपतिः etc " (Āpast. 23—10. 12),—99.
गृहपतिवत्,—(in Sūtra),—563.
" गृहपति सप्तदशाः स्वयमृत्विजो ब्राह्मणाः सत्रमुपेयुः" (with the गृहपति as the 17th),—76,99.
गृहमेध्रीय,—599, 609.
गो,—six synonyms quoted, उक्षा etc.,—462.
" गोदोहनेन प्रणयेत्पशुकामस्य " (Āpast. Śr. 1. 16. 3),—81.
गोधेनु 'a cow' (MW. gives this word on lexical authority only. See धेनु *infra*),—58.
" गोमिनाभ्यां क्रीणाति ",—863.
गौग्गुलव 'made of bdellium' (an unguent),—445—6.
" गौग्गुलवेन प्रातःसवने समंजते "—(Tāṇḍya xxiv.13-4),—445.
" गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीयः",—462.
" गौरिवीत मन्वहं भवति " 64 (See Āpast. xiv. 18. 6. etc).
" गौर्न पदा प्रष्टव्यः",—3.
गौग्गुलव, ' made of ledellium,'—801 (See गौग्गुलव)—

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" गौश्चाश्वश्च, तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणा "—347, 353—4,407, 417—8, 419.
" ग्रहं वा गृहीत्वा चमसं वोन्नीय etc. ",—223,502.
" ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि",—440.
" ग्रामकामं संयाजयेत्",—363.
" ग्रामकामाय प्रतिपदं कुर्यात् ',—81.
ग्रामेणोदपानः स्वेयः etc.,—664.
ग्राहक, ' partaker ', ' sharer ',—40—1, 45.
घनीभावयितुम्, घनीभूत्,—95. (TS. 6. 2. 2. 4.)
" घृतं वै देवा वज्रं कृत्वा सोममघ्नन् etc. ',—72.
घृतव्रतौ भवतः,—761. (TS. 6. 2. 10. 5.)
" घृतेन द्यावापृथिवी आपृण etc. ",—121. 637 (आपृणेथाम्).
" घृते श्रपयति ",—88, 302, 337.
" चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ ",—(TS.2.6.2.1),—391.
" चतुरवत्तं जुहोति ',—639, 642.
" चतुरहे सुत्यामागच्छ मघवन् ',—782.
" चतुरो मुष्टी निर्वपति ",—376, 789.
" चतुर्थे चतुर्थेऽहन्यहीनस्य गृह्यते ",—(cf. Āpast. xxii. 14. 15),—504.
" चतुर्दश पौर्णमास्यामाहुतयो हूयन्ते ",—650, 655, 674, 681, 695, 708.
" चतुर्भिरादत्ते etc. ",—855—6 of. Āpast. Śr. xxiii. 1. 1.
" चतुर्विंशति परमाः सत्रमासीरन् ',—566.
" चतुर्होत्रा पौर्णमासीमभिमृशेत् etc.',—(cf. Āpast. Śr. ii. 11. 5.),—82, 146.
" चतुस्त्रिंशद्वाजिनो देवबन्धोः etc.",—271. (RV. 1. 162. 18; TS. 2. 3. 2. 2.)
" चत्वारि चत्वारि कृष्णलान्यवद्यति ',—328, 338, 341.
" चत्वारि त्रिवृन्ति अहानि etc.",—101 (Āpast. xxii. 23. 9)
" चत्वारि वा एतानि देवदधानि अवदानानि etc.", 641. (See देवदधे).

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" चत्वारोऽभिप्लवाः etc.",—550.

चरु, various meanings proposed, the one adopted being ओदन, for which see note at bottom of p. 328,—325—30.

चातुर्मास्य (See vol. i and Āpast. Śr. viii. 4. 12, xxii. 8, 1),—14.

" चातुर्मास्यानां यज्ञ ऋतूनां पंचर्त्विजः ",—723.

" चातुर्मास्यानि चातुर्मास्यैः स्वर्गकामो यजेत ",—385.

" चातुर्मास्ये प्राचीन प्रवणे वैश्वदेवेन यजेत ",—(Āpast. viii, 1. 5),—701.

" चातुर्मास्यैः स्वर्गकामो यजेत,—473, 708, 720.

" चात्वाले कृष्णविषाणां प्रास्यति " (See vol. i),—736. (TS. 2. 4. 6. 1)

" चित्रया यजेत पशुकामः ",—235.

चित्रा, N. of an इष्टि,—89, 381.

" छन्दांसि वा अन्योन्यस्य लोकमभिध्यायन्ति etc.",—524.

" छन्दोगा बह्वृचाश्चैव etc.",—(a verse defining भाषिक स्वर),—850.

" छागस्य वपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि ",—462—3.

छान्दसाः, students of a Veda,—189. (They hold that a Sāman is a mantra set to music—प्रगीतं मन्त्रवाक्यं साम).

"जगतीं वै छन्दांसि प्रत्यवरोहन्ति, etc,"—522.

जगत्सामन्,—(See vol i) It is declared that in the whole Sāmaveda there in no Sāman named Jagat,—506—7.

"जगृभ्मा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम्",—(ṚV. X. 47.1),—138, 142.

जनक सप्तरात्र,—N. of a Saptāha sacrifice (Āpast. Śr. 22. 23.5),—101.

जप,—defined as व्यक्तायां वाचि, with examples,—560—1.

जपसंस्कार,—365.

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जयाः,—N. of certain formularies causing victory (TS. iii. 4.4 and Pāraskara Gṛihya I.5.7—9),—21.
जर्तिलयवागू,—'juice of dried Sesamam',—625—6.
"जर्तिलयवाग्वावा जुहुयात्,—etc",—do—(TS.V.4.3.2.)
जलबुद्बुदवत्,—310.
"जाघन्या पत्नीः संयाजयन्ति",—866 (See vol i).
जामि—सादृश्य,—657.
जामितादोष,—489 ("किमिदमविकार इति । अपुनर्वचनं तत्र जामितादोषो न भविष्यति । अभ्यासे हि स स्यात् ",—Śabara).
"जामि वा एतद्यज्ञस्य क्रियते यदन्वञ्चौ पुरोडाशौ, etc,"—654,656, 659 (TS.2.6.6.4, and see vol i).
"जामि वा एतद्यज्ञस्य क्रियते यदेवं भूयः क्रियेत",—489.
जायात्व,—528. (In the same passage on p. 197 the reading is जायार्थे)
"जुषन्तां युज्यं पयः,"—95.
"जुह्वा वा एतर्हि वाग्भवति, —etc.",—435.
"जुव्हावसुरूरसि," (?),—835.
जैमिनि,—(in Sūtra),—103,221,803.
"ज्योतिरेव पुरस्ताद्दधाति",—34.
"तं वै प्रोहेद्वानस्पत्योऽसि"—352.
"ततः संवत्सरे ऽस्थीनि याजयेत् (Āpast XIV.22.12),—362, 369.
तत्रभवानामाचारात्तेषां स्मृतेः श्रुतिः,—326.
तदादि प्रभवाः पशवः स्युः",—68.

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VII—GLEANINGS FROM THE TANTRAS

BY GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

(I)

The Ten Mahāvidyās.

In the Tantrik Literature the Mahāvidyās are usually enumerated as ten. But the number is sometimes increased by three and sometimes by six*. The Muṇḍamālā Tantra (Paṭala I) names the ten Mahāvidyās, thus—(1) Kālī, (2) Tārā, (3) Ṣoḍaśī, (4) Bhuvaneśvarī, (5) Bhairavī, (6) Chhinnamastā, (7) Dhūmāvatī, (8) Vagalā, (9) Mātaṅgī and (10) Kamalā. This list is also found in the Chāmuṇḍā Tantra as well as in the Toḍala Tantra. There appear to be slight differences of opinion in the various Tantras in regard to the names of the Bhairavas of these Mahāvidyās. These names, as given in the Toḍala Tantra, are—(1) Mahākāla, (2) Akṣobhya, (3) Śiva (three-eyed and five-faced), (4) Tryambaka, (5) Dakṣiṇāmūrti (five-faced), (6) Kavandha (Śiva), (7) none, (8) Ekavaktra (=Mahārudra), (9) Mataṅga Śiva (=Dakṣiṇāmūrti) and (10) Viṣṇu (=Sadāśiva). It may be noted that Dhumāvati being a widow has no Bhairava † and the first Bhairava, named Mahākāla, is attached to Dakṣiṇā, a type of Kālī. But in the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra the names of the Bhairavas under (3), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8) appear respectively as—Lalitēśvara (=Tripura Bhairava), Mahādeva, Vaṭuka, Vîkarāla (=Krodha Bhairava), Kāla Bhairava, (=Ghora) and Mṛtyuñjaya.

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* The list of the Muṇḍamālā Tantra being taken as standard, the three and six additional names which occur in the Sammohana Tantra are—(i) Chaṇḍeśvarī, Laghu Śyāmā and Tripuṭā, and (ii) Vanadurgā, Śūlinī, Aśvārūḍhā, Trailokyavijayā, Vārāhī and Annapūrṇā.

† This is according to Toḍala Tantra, but the Śākti Saṅgama names the Bhairava as Kāla.

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The Vidyās may be thus classified in order of the Āmnāya :

(1) *The Eastern Āmnāya* :

(i) Śrī Vidyā (with all its varieties), Bhuvaneśvarî, Tārā, Tripurā Bhairavî. (ii) Bhuvaneśvarî, Lalitā, Aparājitā, Pūrṇeśî, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Vāṇî, Annapūrṇā, Jayā.

(2) *The Southern Āmnāya* :

(i) Vagalāmukhî, Mahālakṣmî and Bālā Bhairavî. (ii) Daksiṇākāli, Bhadrakālî. (iii) Dakṣiṇākālî, Vagalā, Chhinnā, Bhadrā, Tārā, Mātaṅgī and Niśeśī.

(3) *The Western Āmnāya* :

(i) Kubjikā, Kulālikā, Mātaṅgī and Amṛtā Lakṣmī.

(4) *The Northern Āmnāya* :

(i) Kālī and Tārā with some varieties, Bhairavî, Chhinnamastā, Dhumāvatī and Mātaṅgī. (ii) Guhyakālī, Dhūmrā, Kāmakalā Kālî, Mahākālî, Mahā Śmaśāna Kālî, Kapālinî, Kāla Saṅkarṣiṇī, Chhinnā, Mahābhīma Sarasvatî, Maharātrī, three kinds of Tārā, Yogeśî, Sîddhi Lakṣmî and Siddhi Bhairavî.

(5) *The Upper Āmnāya* :

(i) Kāmeśvarî, Lalitā, Bālā, Mahā Tripurasundarî and Tripurā Bhairavî.

(6) *The Lower* (अधर) *Āmnāya* :

(i) Vajrayoginî, Pannagî, Nairṛteśvarî and Bhîmā.

(a) Kālī

Regarding the origin of Kālī, which is described in the Tantras (cf Puraścharyārṇava) as the chief of all the Mahāvidyās, different accounts are available. According to the Svatantra Tantra, quoted in the Prāṇatoṣinî, she appeared in the city of Avantî on the day of Mahārātri, i.e. on the dark eleventh of the month of Phālguna. She is often identified with Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa and

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with Pārvatī, the daughter of Menakā. Viśvāmitra's tatainment of Brahmanhood is said to be consequent on Her Grace.* The Muṇḍamālā Tantra identifies Kālī with Kṛṣṇa and Ṣoḍaśī. It is not proper to enter here into a detailed study of the very close relation existing, from the cultural view-point, between Kṛṣṇa and Ṣoḍasī. What concerns us here is that the Vidyās Kāli and Ṣoḍaśī too are similarly connected. The Prāṇatoṣiṇī (p. 724) gives a vision of the story of Kālī's conversion into Sundarī or Ṣoḍaśī. It is said that once on a certain day Indra deputed a certain number of Apsarasas to Siva in Kailāsa but he sent them on to Kālī in Kālīpura and betook himself to that place. He addressed the Goddess as "Kālī" (lit. a dark-complexioned one), which she took as an insult. She at once resolved to convert herself into "Gaurī" (lit. a fair-complexioned one) and vanished. In the meantime Nārada met Śiva in Kālīpura and Mahākālī in Uttara Meru. He told her, of course in joke, that Śiva was ready to marry again, on which She assumed at once an extraordinarily beautiful form and appeared before Śiva. She said, in Śiva's presence, that a very fair form was reflected in His heart. Taking this form

*The story runs that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others being unable to confer Brāhmanhood on Viśvāmitra, Nārada advised the latter to invoke Mahādeva. Viśvāmitra acted accordingly and received the one-syllabled Mantra of Kālī from Śiva, but for all his hard penances he could not propitiate the Goddess. Viśvāmitra felt disconcerted and cursed the Goddess to be deprived of all worship. Śiva explained to the saint that his mode of worship was improper and that he should correct it in the way he suggested. This being done, the Goddess was pleased and appeared in company of Siva to Viśvāmitra who asked for the boon, viz. attainment of the glory of a Brāhmaṇa. Kālī looked at Śiva, who embraced the saint and conferred on him what he was so long striving for.

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to be that of a Goddess on whom Śiva's heart was set she felt the pangs of jealousy and rebuked the God for what she interpreted as his unfaithfulness. Śiva asked Her to restrain Herself and, with the Third Eye of Wisdom, to discover the reality of what the form represented. Kālî found to Her great surprise that it was Her own shadow. Śiva then called the beautiful form before Him by the names of Sundarî, Śrî and Pañchamî—which are the synonyms Tripurasundarî or Lalitā. He called Her Ṣoḍaśî on account of Her perpetual fresh youth. As he was frightened by the Shadow in His heart He gave it the name of Tripurā Bhairavî.

There are several varieties of this Goddess. In the Puraścharyārṇava we find mention of nine types,—viz. Dakṣiṇā, Bhadrā, Smaśāna "Kāla", Guhyā, Kāmakalā, Dhanā, "Siddhî" and Chaṇḍî. The Jayadratha Yāmala refers to Ḍambara Kālî, Gahaneśvarî, Ekatārā, Chaṇḍaśābarî, Vajravatî, Rakṣākālî, Indîvarî Kālî, Dhanadā, Ramaṇyā, Îśānakālî and Mantramātā. The Saṃmohana Tantra speaks of ten varieties, but actually mentions seven,—viz. Sparśamaṇi, Chintāmaṇi, Siddhakālî, Vîdyārājñî, Kāmakalā, Haṃsa Kālî and Guhya Kālî.

Of all these varieties Dakṣîṇā and Bhadra Kālî belong to the Southern Āmnāya, while Guhyakālî, Kāmakalā, Mahākāli and Mahāśmaśāna Kālî belong to the Northern Āmnāya.

Guhyakālî, generally worshipped in Nepal, is often described as the best of all the types, and it was of this Goddess that Brahmā, Vasiṣṭha, Rāma, Kuvera, Yama, Bharata, Rāvaṇa, Bali, Indra and others were the worshippers The number of her faces is said to vary with various Sādhakas. The type which Bharata worshipped has ten faces and Her mantra consists of 16 syllables. The external features of the type of which Rāmachandra was a votary are exactly the same, but Her mantra contains 17 syllables rather

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than 16. Hārîta and Chyavana both worshipped this 17-syllabled Vidyā, but Hārita obstructed it with a *Kīla*, so that until this is removed, which is practically a very difficult matter, it can not reveal itself and become effective. The Chyavana-type is still in use.

The Mahākāla Saṃhitā explicitly says that the ten-faced type of Guhyakālî* is the fundamental type (प्रकृतिः), of which the other varieties are modifications. There are seven varieties of Guhya Kālî and five of Dakṣiṇā Kālî.

The worshippers of Kāmakalā Kālî are named in the Mahā Kāla Saṃhitā, thus—Indra, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Brahmā, Mahā Kāla, Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Yama, Vivasvān, Chandra, Viṣṇu and the Ṛṣis. The 18-syllabled type of this Vidyā is supposed to be the best.

(b) Tārā

Tārā is the second Mahāvidyā in the list. She is variously named—as Nîla Sarasvatî,* Ugratārā, Ekajaṭā* Mahātārā, Vidyārājñî,† Vāgîśvarî‡, Sarasvatî§.

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* This is the Sakala form of the Goddess, which has three distinct aspects, viz. gentle (सौम्या), rough (उग्रा) and extremely fierce (महाक्रूरा). The Niṣkalā form is unique.

* Tārā, with the initial and final syllables removed, is Nīla Sarasvatī (Mantra M., fol. 28). Ekajaṭa also is a little different from Tārā so far as the Mantra is concerned. Its Mantra is either 5-syllabled (e.g. in the case of Nārāyaṇa's Mantra) or 22-syllabled, in which case the Ṛṣi is Patañjali. The expulsion of Divodāsa from Benares is said to have been effected by the power of Tārā Mantra.

† Its Mantra is 32-syllabled (Mantra M. fol. 39). This is generally known as Mahāvidyā. Mantra Mahā, fol. 520.

‡ The Mantra is 2-syllabled. The Goddess is described as white-complexioned and ten-armed (Mantra Mahā, fol. 527).

§ Sarasvatī is not exactly identical with Vāgīśvarī in form or

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The Tantrachūḍāmaṇi and Tārārṇava describe it as Kuchchhukā and call it a secret Vidyā. In the Tārā-rahasyavṛtti of Śaṅkarāchārya mention is found of several kinds of Tārā, thus : Tārā, Ugrā, Mahogrā, Vajrakālī, Sarasvatī, Kāmeśvarī and Bhadrakālī, In the Tārābhaktisudhārṇava (11th taraṅga) of Nṛisiṃha Ṭhakkura Vajrakālī and Sarasvatī are read as Vajrā and Nīla Sarasvatī.

According to tradition, the different Mantras of this Goddess were worshipped by different persons for different purposes. Thus for instance the Mantras which Brahmā had resorted to while conferring boons on Tārakāsura and Hiraṇyakaśipu were 12-syllabled and 7-syllabled respectively. Rāma's Mantra was 7-syllabled. There is a 7-syllabled Mantra of the Goddess associated with the name of Brahmā, but it is somewhat different. Similar is the case with the Mantra of Balarāma. Nārāyaṇa, for subjugating the Daityas, worshipped the 5-syllabled form of the Mantra. Viṣṇu, in the form of Buddha, is said to have worshipped the 12-syllabled Mantra for preaching of Buddhism. The Mantra which Mahādeo gave to Paraśurāma for bringing to an end the Kṣattriyas in the land was the 5-syllabled Mantra of Tārā.

The different forms of Tārā, of which the exact number cannot be determined, are arranged in some Tantras

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mantra. There are several Mantras of Sarasvatī—viz. (i) 10-syllabled, of which the Ṛṣi, Chhandas and Devatā are Kaṇva, Virāṭ and Vāgīśvarī ; (ii) 11-syllabled ; (iii) 38-syllabled (worshipped by the Jains) ; (iv) 1-syllabled (Mantra Mahā, fol. 531). The form of the Goddess corresponding to the Mantra (i) is white-complexioned, standing on a white lotus (Do. fol. 529) ; the Goddess of (ii) is described as white-complexioned and either riding on a swan or holding a Japamālā and a pair of lotuses in hands (Do. fols. 530-531).

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according to the Āmnāya to which each is affiliated. Thus Sparśatārā, Chandravarṇā, Chaṇḍaghaṇṭā, Ghaṇṭikā and Trailokyavijayā belong to the East; Chintāmaṇi, Siddhajaṭā, Trijaṭā, Krūramālikā, Krūrachaṇḍā, Mahāchaṇḍā, Vajratārā, Brahmatārā, Maṇitārā, Nārasiṃhī, Chaturvedodarī belong to the South; Ugratārā and the 84 types of Haṃsatārā to the West; Aṣṭatārā to the North; Mahogratārā, Mahānīlā, Śāmbhavatārā, Mahānīlā Sarasvatī, Chînasundarī, Nîlasundarî and Mahānîla Sundarī to the Upper Āmnāya.

The connection of Tārā with Buddhism is very often referred to in the Tantras. The Rudra Yāmala (Paaṭla XVII) and the Brahma Yāmala (Paṭalas I and II) contain a short account of the story of Buddha and Vasiṣṭha with reference to the worship of Tārā. It is said in the former work that Vasiṣṭha practised hard penances (in the Nîlāchala hills,* says the Brahma Yāmala) for a long time for a vision of Tārā, but the Goddess did not appear. Feeling depressed he went to his Father, Brahmā, and told him the whole story, asking him at the some time to give him a fresh Mantra. He was even inclined to utter a curse. Brahmā dissuaded him from cursing and requested him to continue to worship the same Goddess by means of Yoga (योगमार्गेण). Thereupon Vasiṣṭha went to the shore of the Sea† and practised austerities for 1000 years. But the Goddess was not propitiated. Vasiṣṭha lost all sense of restraint and pronounced a curse upon her. On this She appeared and said that his curse was unprovoked, for he was not aware of the mysteries of her worship which are known to

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* I. e. in Kāmākhyā (in Assam).

† Or to the Kāmākhyā thills in Assam, according to Brahmayāmala.

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Buddha alone in the country of Mahāchîna. These are generally included in the so-called Chînāchāra‡.

Vasiṣṭha repaired to Mahāchîna and entreated Buddha to initiate him into the secrets of Tārā worship, but when he found around him the devotees of Tārā indulging in non-vedic rituals and steeped in the excesses involved in the worship by the 5 Ms—*i. e.* Madya, Mānsa, etc.—he felt disgusted and doubts as to the propriety and dignity of this form of worship began to trouble his mind. Buddha realised his plight and explained to him the Kulamārga, which is praised as the noblest path leading to spiritual realisation. Through his persuasion Vasiṣṭha adopted the Śākta worship (of Tārā) by means of wine and the other accessories till he became a perfect Yogî (पूर्णयोगी) and had a vision of the Goddess.

For a long time the Tārā Mantra, owing to the curse of Vasiṣṭha, remained ineffective, but its *Utkīlana* was performed subsequently, so as to remove its barrenness. In some places it is noted that the effect of the curse was till the advent of the Kṛṣṇa Avatāra (cf Puraścharyārṇava, p. 782).

As regards the origin of the Goddess it is related that She came forth from the upper Mouth of Śiva in the form of a bright flame and fell into the Chola (or Cholana) lake to the west of Mount Meru on the day of Kālarātri, i. e. on

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‡ The Brahmayāmala describes the Chīnāchāra in the following terms.

स्नानादिर्मानसः शौचो मानसः प्रवरो जपः । पूजनं मानसं दिव्यं मानसं तर्पणादिकम् ॥ सर्व एव शुभः कालो नाशुभो विद्यते क्वचित् । न विशेषो दिवारात्रौ न सन्ध्यायां महानिशि ॥ वस्त्रासनस्थानगेहदेहस्पर्शादिवारिणः । शुद्धिं न चाचरेत्तत्र निर्विकल्पं मनश्चरेत् ॥ नात्र शुद्ध्याद्यपेक्षास्ति न चामेध्यादिदूषणम् । सर्वदा पूजयेद्देवीमस्नातः कृतभोजनः ॥ महानिश्यशुचौ देशे वलिं मन्त्रेण दापयेत । स्त्रीद्वेषो नैव कर्त्तव्यो विशेषात् पूजनं स्त्रियाः ॥

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the Dīpāvalī day (14th dark tithi combined with Amā of Kārtika). Rising out of the lake she assumed a blue hue and became known as Nîlasarasvatî. The saint Akṣobhya, who is described as an Emanation from Mahādeva and was living on the north of the lake, observed the whole affair and began to worship Her (cf. Prāṇatoṣiṇî, pp. 720-722; Tārābhaktisudhārṇava, 1st Taraṅga).

The connection of Akṣobhya with Tārā is remarkable. For it is found in the Buddhist literature as well—and modern scholars are strongly inclined to believe that the whole Tārā legend was really a graft from the Buddhistic source upon Hindu Tantra Śāstra. Akṣobhya is a very well known name in Mahāyāna Buddhism as that of a Dhyānī Buddha whose colour is blue and whose posture of hand (मुद्रा) is what is known as Bhūsparśa. The Śakti and Bodhisattva attached to Akṣobhya are Lochanā and Vajrapāṇi respectively.

The derivative meaning of the name Akṣobhya (lit. 'unperturbable') is given in the Tantras. Śiva was called by this name because he was not agitated even after drinking the deadly poison which came out of the Churning of the Ocean (cf. Prāṇatoṣiṇî p. 719). *(To be continued.)*

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VIII—THE DATE OF MADHU-SUDANASARA-SVSATI.

By Gopi Nath Kaviraj.

The date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatî has been as much a vexed problem in the chronology of Indian Literature as that of Appayya Dîkṣita. The paper on Appayya Dîkṣita*, recently published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras (Vol. II, pts 3-4, pp. 226-237), has indeed thrown much fresh light on the date of Appayya, though certain difficulties still remain to be solved. But the date of Madhusūdana seems yet to be an open question. Mr. R. Krishna Swami Sastri, B. A., contributed an interesting paper on the age of Madhusūdana in the pages of the same Journal (Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 97-104), pleading in favour of the third quarter of the 17th Century as his probable date.

Assuming that the date of Appayya, as finally determined by Mr. Y. Mahalinga Sastri, is correct, *viz.* that Appayya was born about 1520 A. D. and died about 1593, having lived a life of 72 years, it seems to one more than likely that Madhusūdana too lived about the end of the 16th Century or a little earlier. Madhusūdana's date can not be dragged down into the 17th Century for the obvious reason that a manuscript of the Siddhāntabindu composed by him was transcribed in Śaka 1539 (नवाग्निवाणेन्दुमिते शकाब्दे) or 1617 A. D. This is the most positive proof in support of the 16th Century date for Madhusūdana. Besides, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is said to have defeated Madhusūdana and Nṛsiṃhāśrama in a public controversy. Nārāyana's commentary on the Vṛittaratnākara was written in 1545 A. D.

* By Y. Mahalinga Sastri, B.A., B.L., Mylapore.

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which is therefore also the date of Madhusūdana. This is perfectly in keeping with the date of Nṛsiṃhāśrama whose Vedāntatattvaviveka was composed in 1547 A. D. Madhusūdana's high praise of Appayya, whom he describes as सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्र, is explicable on the supposition that Madhusūdana was a junior contemporary of the latter. In the same way Appayya's alleged intellectual conversion by Nṛsiṃha and his respectful reference to the views of the latter in the Siddhāntaleśa saṅgraha are easily intelligible if Nṛsiṃha is held to have been an earlier contemporary of Appayya. Nṛisiṃha lived up to an advanced age.

That Madhusūdana's Advaitaratnarakṣaṇa was written in reply to Śaṅkara's Bhedaratna is certain. But Saṅkara's date is not after 1529 A. D., but long before it*. A Ms. of his Bhedaratna was copied in Saṃ. 1519 or 1462 A. D. Saṅkara may be assigned to the 15th Century. Madhusūdana's contemporary Nṛsiṃhāśrama too had already commented upon a similar work, called Abhedaratna, written by one Mallanārādhya with the same end in view, *i. e.* for vindication of the cause of Advaita.

Madhusūdana's posteriority to Appayya is undoubted, but this need not imply any long interval between the two authors. They can well be explained by the assumption that Madhusūdana was a younger contemporary of Appayya. As Madhusūdana's date can not be brought down beyond 1617 A. D., when a Ms. of his Siddhāntabindu was copied,

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* The present writer pointed out long ago : "Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā in his Preface to the Vādivinoda, pp 1-2, places Śaṅkara about Saṃvat 1585. But in view of the positive evidence adduced above it is no longer possible to hold this date as true."

(The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Studies, Vol. III, p. 151).

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this assumption becomes inevitable. And in the light of evidence adduced by Y. Mahalinga Sastri it seems no longer possible to stick to the old dates for Appayya Dîkṣita*.

Vyāsarāja too was probably an older contemporary of Madhusūdana. The date for him given by Mr. R. K. Śāstrî, *i. e.* between 1446 and 1539 A. D., may be accepted. It is said that Vyāsārāja himself sent his pupil Vyāsāśrama to study Vedānta with Madhusūdana†.

Rāmatîrtha‡, pupil of Kṛṣṇa Tîrtha¶, commented on

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* In my paper on "Mimansa MSS in the Government Sanskrit Library (Benares)" I assumed (vide p. 178 of the Princess of Wales S. B. Studies, Vol. VI) 1587-1658 A. D. as the probable date of Appayya Dīkṣita. But this may now be rejected in favour of the date proposed by Mr. Y. Mahalinga Sastri. Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa I, the second son of Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa, was the author of a criticism on Appayya's Vidhirasāyana. Śaṅkara's time is about the end of the 16th Century, his father's Commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara having been composed in 1545 A. D. This too shows that Appayya lived in the 16th Century and *not later*. This Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa was one of the Gurus of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita (Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 11). Cf also Bhaṭṭa Vaṃśa Kāvya Kānta Bhaṭṭa. Kamalākara, Śaṅkara's by nephew, also quoted from Appayya Dīkṣita (S. K. De's Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I., p. 266). It may be pointed out in this connection that Dr. Keith too accepts the 16th Century as the probable age of Appayya Dīkṣita (See "A History of Sanskrit Literature", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928, pp. 396 & 481).

† See History of Vedanta Philosophy by Swami Prajñānānanda, Vol. III, pp. 730, 750.

‡ This Rāma Tīrtha was also the author of a commentary on Śaṅkara's Upadeśa Sāhasrī.

¶ The Guru of Rāma Tīrtha was one Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha, as mentioned in Rāma's Commentaries on the Upadeśa Śāhasrī and Saṅkṣepa Śārīraka. There is a Ms of Tattva Chandrikā, a

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the Saṅkṣepaśārîraka. Madhusūdana Sarasvatî adversely criticised this commentary in his own Ṭîkā on the same work. So much is clear. But it is doubtful whether this Rāma Tîrtha was identical with the Guru of Ananta Deva I. Even assuming the truth of the proposed identity there appears to be no anachronism in Madhusūdana's having attacked the views and interpretations of Rāma Tîrtha. The date of Ananta Deva II. was between 1616 and say 1650 A D., for he referred to Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa whose Nirṇaya Sindhu was composed in 1612 A. D. and was criticised by the great Mîmāṃsaka Khaṇḍa Deva* who died in 1666 A. D. As Ananta was a protege of Prince Baz Bahadur who reigned probably from 1644 to 1664 A. D. the year 1644 may be taken to be the year when Ananta Deva II was living. This would explain the possibility of Ananta's referring to Kamalākara and being himself referred to by Khaṇḍa Deva. If Baz Bahadur was a Prince when

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Commentary on Ānandagiri's Vivaraṇa on Śaṅkarāchārya's Paṅchîkaraṇa, by an unnamed author, who describes himself as the pupil of Kṛṣṇa Tîrtha and Jagannāthāśrama (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 733). If this Kṛṣṇa Tîrtha is the same as the Guru of Rāma Tîrtha, Rama Tîrtha would be a contemporary of Nṛsiṃhāśrama, the pupil of Jagannāthāśrama. Nṛsiṃha was living in 1546 A D. Hence the year 1550 A. D. assigned to Rāma Tîrtha is quite plausible.

* Khaṇḍa Deva refuted the views of Āpa Deva II and of Ananta Deva II in his Bhāṭṭadîpikā and Mîmāṃsākaustubha. Śambhu Bhaṭṭa, Khaṇḍa Deva's pupil, says plainly in his Prabhāvalî, a commentary on the Bhaṭṭadîpikā : "यस्तु न्यायप्रकाशे सप्तमो बहुव्रीहिराश्रितः तत्त्वं दूषणं कौस्तुभे द्रष्टव्यम्" and "यत्तु भाट्टालङ्कारकृता + + + तदुपेक्षितं पूज्यपादैः।" Khaṇḍa Deva must have been a very old man when he died, for he was the Guru of Peru Bhaṭṭa, the father of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha who belongs to the middle of the Century.

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Ananta undertook at his request the composition of the Smṛti Kaustubha, this date will have to be shifted a few years earlier. Accepting this year as our initial point and computing backward we may date the literary activities of his father, Āpa Deva II, the author of Mîmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa and Commentary on Vedantasāra about 1600 A.D., and those of Ananta Deva I, the author of (Vedānta) Siddhāntaratna, about 1570 A.D. The date of Kāma Tîrtha, the author of the Commentary on the Saṅkṣepaśārîraka referred to above and the Guru of Ananta Deva I, may be 20 years earlier or about 1550 A.D. For Madhusūdana who might have lived up to the end of the 16th Century and whose Commentary on the Saṅkṣepaśārîraka was probably a production of his maturer years it was in no way impossible to refer to the views of Rāma Tîrtha.

It may be further observed that Madhusūdana had among his pupils (i) Balabhadra, (ii) Puruṣottama Sarasvatî and (iii) Śeṣa Govinda. This Balabhadra, called Balabhadra Bhaṭṭāchārya at the end of Puruṣottama Sarasvatî's Commentary on the Siddhāntabindu, was the pupil for whose study Madhusūdana had written the Siddhāntabindu. Puruṣottama refers to Madhusūdana as his Guru in the line.—विद्यागुरुं गुरुमिव सुराणां मधुसूदनम्, (नौमि)— of his Commentary on the Siddhāntabindu. Śeṣa Govinda calls himself the son of Śeṣa Paṇḍita, and the pupil of Madhusūdana in his Commentary on the Sarva Siddhānta Saṅgraha attributed to Śaṅkarāchārya. If the father of Govinda is held to be identical with Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa which is not unlikely, the synchronism of Madhusūdana with Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa becomes established. That Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa lived in the 16th Century is well known. Madhusūdana may therefore also be assigned to the same age.

Thus it seems to me very likely that Madhusūdana lived and worked in the 16th Century. The lower limit of his

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age is furnished, not by the date of Hari Dîkṣita's Brahmasūtravṛitti (completed in 1736 A. D.) but by that of the transcription of a Ms. of Siddhāntabindu (1617 A. D.) There is no doubt that Nārāyaṇa Tîrtha, the Guru of Brahmānanda, whose commentaries on some of Madhusūdana's works (viz. Chandrikā,-Bṛhat and Laghu—on the Advaita Siddhi and Nyāyaratnāvalî on the Siddhāntabindu) are well known, was greatly influenced by Madhusūdana's teachings. His Bhaktichandrikā bears upon it traces of his close familiarity with Madhusūdana's Bhaktirasāyana and he himself wrote a Commentary on the latter's Siddhāntabindu (recently published from Benares). Nārāyaṇa lived about the end of the 18th Century. In the Sanskrit College Library Benares there is a Ms. of Muktāvalîprakāśa by Dinakara dated Saṃ. 1758 or 1701 A. D. This Ms belonged to the private library of Nārāyaṇa Tîrtha himself.

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IX.—DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ON SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

By Gopinath Kaviraj.

Introduction.

The history of Indian Literature and Culture does not seem to have yet been taken up for study in the manner which the nature of the subject demands. The efforts of Max Müller, Weber, Macdonell, Keith, Winternitz and others have done much indeed to systematise the researches into the history of the Sanskrit Literature, especially in regard to chronology and bibliography as a whole; and a host of writers have done, and been still doing, a good deal of valuable spade-work in various fields connected with Sanskrit Studies. Descriptive Catalogues of Mss. hitherto published, are of great use, not only for bibliographical studies but also for literary chronology, which is often a vixed subject. But with all these data,—and they are by no means insignificant,—it is not possible to attempt to build up the cultural history of the country, unless and until they are reinforced by the data available on a close and systemative study of the contents of the important unpublished manuscripts, lying in deposit in the various libraries of India and outside. It is indeed true that even all the published Sanskrit works have not yet been ransacked and subjected to a thoroughly critical examination, so far as their contents are concerned. But such a work may be left to scholars, who will be able to accomplish it, each in his own sphere of study, sooner or later. As for the Mss, however, the need of such an examination is imminent and even imperative, for the following reasons :

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(*a*) Mss deposited in libraries are not within easy reach of all scholars interested in the subjects concerned.

(*b*) Some of them being fragmentary and unique may never be published at all.

(*c*) Even those which are complete are not likely to be published in entirety and at an early date.

(*d*) Single leaves are sometimes found to contain valuable information which, unless it is noted, is never likely to be available for study.

(*e*) Mss, old and decaying, are in fear of being soon destroyed. It is desirable to have a record of the contents, specially on the important points dealt with, of interesting Mss which for some reason or other have a value of their own. A critical and comparative study of these notes can easily be attempted subsequently, when a large amount of such matter will have been collected.

I think a work of this nature has long been a desideratum, and I believe that every Library of Sanskrit manuscripts ought to come forward, ready for co-operation in this cyclopaedic work, and try to contribute its own quota to this end. This must be done, if a systematic study of Sanskrit literature and the culture reflected therein has ever to be undertaken.

Under the name of "Descriptive Notes" I propose to bring out the results of my studies of manuscripts, with special reference to their contents. These notes keep in view the requirements of cultural and historical study. The names of the Mss from which notes have been taken have not been arranged in any order;—such arrangement is evidently impossible at the beginning. But it is proposed to append at the end of notes on a certain number of Mss a classified list of the works noticed. The Mss belong mostly

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to the Government Sanskrit Library, but there are some of private owners also. In every case this has been clearly indicated.

——:o:——

No. 1.

श्रीकृष्णयामल महातन्त्र

Fols 3-13. Script—Devanāgari.

Interlocution between Brāhmaṇa and Brāhmaṇī. A fragment only. Ms old, and the script rather peculiar (Plate)

The Codex begins with an interesting tale of the various Avatāras: *viz.* (*a*) Pṛśnigarbha, (*b*) Ṛṣabha, (*c*) Pṛthu, (*d*) Nara-Nārāyaṇa, (*e*) Dhanvantari, (*f*) Hayagrîva, (*g*) Datta, son of Atri and Anasūyā, (*h*) Kapila, (*i*) Paraśurāma, son of Reṇukā, (*j*) Rāma and his brothers, (*k*) Vyāsa and (*l*) Kṛṣṇa who descends in every Manvantara in the 22nd Dvāpara Yuga, with His own Śaktis, and Gopas &c. who are the products of His own Body.

Bṛndāvana is said to be of two kinds—(*i*) earthly (भौम) and (*ii*) transcendent (दिव्य); of which the former again is two-fold, one in Mathurā and the other in Puruṣottama (Puri).

यत्र वै भगवान् कृष्णस्तत्र वृन्दावनं वनम् ।
तत्रैव राधिका नित्या भद्रा देवी च तत्र वै ॥
तत्र वै बलरामस्तु गोपा गोप्यो गवां गणः ॥

Names of Viṣṇu's Avatāras and their various functions for redemption of the world are then stated. It is here added in passing that the way of Knowledge was for the first time preached by the four Sanas* and the Way of Devotion by Nārada.

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* *Viz.* Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra.

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The Divya Bṛndāvana is above Liṅga and Yoni—Puruṣa and Prakṛti; it is here that the Supreme Being abides in the undiminished splendours of His Existence, Self-awareness and Delight. He is transcendent and formless (निराकार), while at the same time invested with infinity of forms (साकार)—the Quintessence of Joy, the Lord of the Universe. His Śakti is Rādhikā, the Soul of Delight (परमानन्दरूपिणी). From Her come forth and in Her continue the Universe and the innumerable Souls (कोटि नार्यः)* inhabiting it. With them Śrīkṛṣṇa is reported to be playing always and in myriads of ways. He is the limitless Ocean of Joy (रसाम्बुधि) and His plays with His Śaktis, also limitless, give rise in phenomena to the varieties of what we have come to term Aesthetic Joy (रस).

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* Mentioned here as nārīs, females once. It may be of interest to note that in the Vaiṣṇava Cult, of which Rādhikopaniṣad represents an aspect, the souls are conceived as feminine. Srīkṛṣṇa Himself, the Supreme Self, is the Only Puruṣa in this view, and the rest are His Prakṛtis or Śaktis. Even in the Gītā (VII. 4-5) the Jīva is described as the Prakṛti of Īśvara, along with Nature (the Avyakta of Sāṅkhya), with this distinction, however, that it is higher (परा) and that the latter is lower (अपरा).

The passage in the Rādhikopaniṣad which refers to Rādhikā (=आनन्द or ह्लादिनीशक्ति of the Deity) as the Immaculate source of Universal manifestation finds its closest parallel in the saying of the Upaniṣad आनन्दाद्धेयव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, &c. And it also implies that from the Fulness of Divine Joy (आनन्द), by an apparent split within Itself, by a process of negation or contraction, चित् (corresponding to संवित्शक्ति) and सत् (corresponding to सन्धिनीशक्ति), the so-called Puruṣa and Prakṛti, have finally evolved (much in the fashion indicated in Sufi philosophy).

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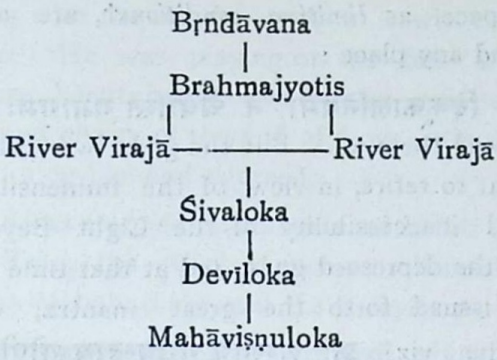
The position of Nitya Bṛndāvana, according to this school, may be understood from a glance at the following rough sketch :



It is related that once Brahmā, with a host of other gods, conceived the idea of making a pilgrimage to this Bṛndāvana. They took for their guide a Person, named Mahāhari, an emanation from the mouth of Mahāviṣṇu and started on their journey. This Person is represented as blue, eight-armed, yellow-robed, lotus-eyed and wearing a garland of wild flowers. They went first to the Plane of Durgā or Tripurā Sundarī, whose Form is described as that of a bright and youthful goddess, with three eyes and four arms bearing the fivefold arrow, a bow, a noose and a hook and decked with red ornaments. She appears here as the Type of Supreme Beauty. She blessed them all.

Thereupon the gods proceeded up to the Plane of Śiva, where they beheld a Luminous Liṅga in touch with the Mahāyoni or Yogapīṭha. It pervaded the Universe and yet transcended its utmost bournes. It was Sadāśiva. The gods recognised Him and sang hymns in His praise, on which the God issued forth from the Liṅga in a form half-male and half-female, called Ardhanārīśvara. He described Himself to be the Liṅga or Tejas of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Durgā as Rādhikā Herself. It was through the effect

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of Māyā alone that she was of the form of Yoni.* This Plane is the utmost limit of the guṇas. Beyond is the Ineffable, Unsullied, the Immutable, the Silent. Here Time and Space, as *limiting conditions*†, are annihilated, and do not find any place :

नात्र दिक्कालनियमौ न चैवास्ति गमागमः ।

Śiva blessed them all. But the gods were disheartened and were about to retire, in view of the immensity, unmeasureability and inaccessibility of the Light Beyond. Śiva took pity on the depressed gods, and at that time from His five mouths issued forth the great mantra, called the Pañchapadīvidyā, viz. **क्लीं कृष्णाय गोविन्दाय गोपीजनवल्लभाय स्वाहा** which the gods received and the Initiation took place.

The next step was the river Virajā. It is described as luminous (**ज्योतिर्मयी**), shoreless and endowed with innumerable qualities. While on its bank they heard coming from Beyond a sweet strain, as of flutes (**वेणु**), lutes (**वीणा**) and mṛdaṅgas and the sounds of Kṛṣna's names (Govinda, etc.) chanted. The gods were over-joyed and began to meditate fervently (**जप**) on the great Mantra which they had received. Opening their eyes they beheld lying before them a vast City of Light, bright but mellow, and brilliantly decked. In the river they saw, around them, the reflection of a forest of Kadambas. In this was a Kalpa Tree, with branches of jewels, leaves of emerald, trunk of gold, fruits of rubies, roots studded with gems, and shadowy. Under this tree they beheld to their infinite delight and

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* Liṅga and Yoni are two pro-creative symbols and stand for the Divine Father and Mother. They stand at the apex of creative flux, and above them both (also permeating and upholding them) is the Eternity.

† This is important, for as **लीलापरिकर** they have their use even in the Eternal Realms (**नित्य धाम**).

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amazement, sitting, a Beautiful Boy, with the crown of peacock's tail on His head, wild garlands round His neck, wearing robes like lightning-flashes and various ornaments and shining with the bluish tint of a newly risen cloud on the horizon. He was playing on the flute and was of a Form whose beauty surpassed in an infinite degree the loveliness and charm of the god of Love. On His lap was a Girl, lightning-like and adorned.

The devas were so much taken with this glorious vision of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa that they at once set themselves to swim across, when Mahāhari stopped them, saying :—

अवगाहनाद् भवेदस्याः पुमान् स्त्री महिला पुमान् ।
ऊर्द्धं गच्छन्ति ये चास्याः ते वै ज्योतिर्मयाः परे ॥
निरञ्जने निराधारे निर्मले चापुनर्भवाः ।
शुद्धे सूक्ष्मे निमज्जन्ति कृष्णे ज्योतिर्मयेऽजरे ॥

The river was embanked. The city was decorated all round with jewelled-staffs (रत्नध्वज) and flags. The gods moved on towards it, when lo!

आत्मानमेकमभितो नानाकारमितस्ततः ।
पश्यन्ति परमाश्चर्यं ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ॥

The rare and marvellous vision of One Self playing in myriads of forms was vouchsafed to them.

A picturesque description of this Realm is then given. It is narrated that the gods, before actually entering into the precincts of this city, were asked by the gate keeper, who was himself in every respect of the same form as Kṛṣṇa, to state from which Brahmāṇḍa they came and for what purpose and also to establish the identity of each.*

* For the worlds being infinite, the Brahmās Viṣṇus etc., who are only the functionaries concerned with government of the Universe under the direction of the Supreme, must also be consistently held to be countless. It is immaterial in this context

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No. 2.

विप्रानन्द तरङ्गिणी OF KĀSI NĀTHA

Fols 1—3. Script—Nāgarī.

The work begins—

या विद्येत्यभिधीयते श्रुतिपथे शक्तिः सदाद्या परा
सर्वज्ञा भवबन्धभित्तिनिपुणा सर्वाशये संस्थिता ।
दुर्ज्ञेया सुदुरात्मभिश्च मुनिभिर्ध्यानास्पदं प्रापिता
प्रत्यक्षा भवतीह सा भगवती बुद्धिप्रदा मेऽस्तु वै ॥ १ ॥
नत्वा श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिचरणाम्भोरुहद्वयम् ।
काशीनाथः प्रतनुते विप्रानन्दतरङ्गिणीम् ॥ २ ॥

The author says that it is declared in the Kalpasutras, attributed to Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa, that the upāsanā of Gāyatrī alone is sufficient for the Brāhmaṇas to secure Mokṣa—**परब्रह्मपरमकारुणिकेन भगवता नारायणेन कल्पसूत्रे विप्राणां गायत्र्युपासनामात्रेणैव मुक्तिरिति प्रतिपादितम्** (fol. 1 b). In support of this several quotations are given, some without reference to the source and some from the Āditya Purāṇa, Viṣṇu-Yāmala, Atharva-Veda, Devyātharva Śiras, Gāyatrī-hṛdaya, Gāyatrīstavarāja, Gāyatrīrahasya and Vāsiṣṭha.

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whether we are to conceive the gods as Jīvas with extended powers and wisdom or as Īśvara, with His infinite power and wisdom curtailed for division into multiple centres of activity. In both hypotheses the worlds and the gods would be innumerable. The Primum Materia being given as infinite, the worlds following from it must be supposed to be without an end. The plurality of worlds is a rational and legitimate hypothesis and is accepted as a matter of course in every system of Indian Thought. Cf Kusumāñjali (II Stavaka), Śivapurāṇa; Schrader, Introduction to the Pañcharātra, p. 29. See also Chaitanya Charitāmrita, Sarkar's English Translation of the above, pp 273-275; Tattva-traya (Benares Ed.), p. 66.

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The Gāyatrīhṛdaya presents this scheme of Emanation: Praṇava (the mystic syllable 'Om')—Vyāhṛti—Gāyatrī—Sāvitrī—Sarasvatī—Vedas—Brahmā—the Lokas. It is stated that all the Vedas with their aṅgas, all the Upaniṣads, all the Itihāsas have emanated from the Gāyatrī. In the Gāyatrī-rahasya prominence is given to Śakti, as usually in the Tantrik works, and the Śakti is described as two-fold, viz. Saguṇa and Nirguṇa, the former worshipped by men of the world (**रागिणः**) and the latter by the recluse (**विरागिणः**).

The quotations from the "Atharva Veda" (?) consist of Anuṣṭup verses, Paurānic or Tantrik in character, in which the order of Emanation is given as below:

Chitśakti—Prakṛti (= the Reflected Image of Chitśakti, **प्रतिबिम्बस्वरूपिणी**)—Mahat—Ahaṅkāra—Ākāśa—Vāyu—Agni—Jala—Prithvī—Oṣadhi—Anna—Retas. In this way the entire univese is ultimately traced to Śaktibimba or Nature.

No. 3

वामाचारमतखण्डनम् OF KĀSÎNĀTHA.

Fols 1-10. Script—Nāgarī.

The author calls himself Kāsînātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa, son of Śiva Bhaṭṭa *alias* Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa, son of Śivarāma Bhaṭṭa. His mother's name appears as Vārāṇasī in the colophons of his works—(*a*) **गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका** and (*b*) **चण्डिकार्चनदीपिका**, of which extracts are given in Peterson's Ulwar Catalogue (pp. 238, 239). In the Introductory verse (no. 1) of (*a*) his teacher is named Ananta. His other known works are—

(*c*) **यन्त्रचन्द्रिका** (Ibid, p. 252)

(*d*) **शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी** (Ibid, p. 252)

(*e*) **विप्रानन्दतरङ्गिणी**, described in No. 3, *passim*, is

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probably his work. In (*c*) the author is described as **दक्षिणाचारमतप्रवर्तक**।

The author is very anxious to prove that the views of the Vāmāchārins are unfounded. It is said that in the 64 Tantras and 8 Yāmalas the teacher Dakṣiṇāmūrti prescribed all rites for the first three castes according to Daksiṇa mārga and for the Śūdras according to Vāma mārga. The Merutantra says plainly that Vāmāchāra is not intended for the 3 higher castes and again that of the three kinds of Upāsanā mental Pūjā and Japa are Sāttvika, Dakṣiṇa and Image worship are rājasika and offerings to 'Bhaga' etc. are tāmasic. The Samayāchāra Tantra divides Āchāra into two classes and explains Vāmāchara as connected with the five mudrās, etc. and Dakṣiṇāchāra as devoid of the same. In the Uttara Kaulārṇava there is a description of Vāmāchāra, saying that in this form wine, meat and similar other things are its accessories and that *really* obscene acts have to be indulged in (**प्रत्यक्षयोन्याम्**). The triangle (**त्रिकोण**) is a symbol of the female organ. The Digambaras, Kṣapaṇakas etc. are votaries of this form of worship, which is declared to be non-vedic. There are certain minor differences however between the methods of worship of the Kaulas and those of the Digambaras*

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*अत्र नाम महापूजायां सुरामांसमधुमद्यादिद्रव्यैः समर्चनं वामाचारप्रवृत्त्या । प्रत्यक्षत्रिकोणस्थानं मन्मथछत्रं कृत्वा etc.

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XI.—A NOTE ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM 'PARARDHA'

By Umeśa Miśra.

I the course of my studies I happened to come across the word '*Parārddha*' representing various stages of numeral notation. In the Śukla-Yajurveda-Saṃhitā,[1] to begin with, we find that it is the *thirteenth* place of notation which Parārddha occupies. Thus the order of numerical notations found in this Saṃhitā is as follows:—

Eka = 1
Daśa = 10
Śata = 100
Sahasra = 1000
Ayuta = 1000,0
Niyuta = 100,00
Prayuta = 1000,000
Arbuda = 1000,000,0
Nyarbuda = 100,000,00
Samudra = 1000,000,000
Madhya = 1000,000,000,0
Anta[2] = 1000,000,000,00
Parārddha = 1000,000,000,000

Here both Uvaṭa and Mahîdhara in their Bhāṣyas on the above say that we get the subsequent number when the preceding one is multiplied by ten.[3]

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1. Adhyāya 17 Ṛcā 2. PP. 311, Nirṇaya Sagar, Bombay Ed. 1912.
2. It is also called Antarīkṣa.
3. Śukla Yajurveda Saṃhitā PP. 311.

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But in the explanation of these terms Mahîdhara differs and holds that, truly speaking, it is the eighteenth place of notation which is occupied by Parārdha. Thus the differences, according to him, begin from Prayuta, which is equal to ten lacs, as Niyuta represents a lac. After Prayuta comes Koṭi and then Arbuda and Nyarbuda. The latter, he says, is a synonym of *Abja*. Further, he says that as Abja literally means that which is produced out of water, it impiies that the numerals coming between Abja and Samudra, namely, Kharva, Nikharva, Mahāpadma, and Śaṅku, are indicated by Abja only. Thus according to him the following is the order :—

Eka = 1
Daśa = 10
Śata = 100
Sahasra = 1000
Ayuta = 1000,0
Niyuta = 1000,00 = Lakṣa
Prayuta = 1000,000 = Daca-lakṣa
Koṭi = 1000,000,0
Arbuda = 1000,000,00
Nyarbuda = 1000,000,000 = Abja
Kharva = 1000,000,000,0 = Abja multiplied by ten.
Nikharva = 1000,000,000,00
Mahāpadma = 1000,000,000,000
Śaṅku = 1000,000,000,000,0
Samudra = 1000,000,000,000,00
Madhya = 1000,000,000,000,000
Anta = 1000,000,000,000,000,0
Parārddha = 1000,000,000,000,000,00

Now if this view of Mahîdhara be taken to be correct how can Uvaṭa or Mahîdhara himself be justified in saying

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1. Ibid.

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that the numbers one to Parārddha (as given in the text) are to be had when each preceding one is multiplied by ten.* According to the text as explained by Uvaṭa, Mahîdhara and later Smṛti writers, *Samudra* is equal to 1000,000,000 which now will become 1000,000,000,000,00. Both these explanations cannot be true in any way.

Coming to Jyotiḥśāstra, we find that it is the eighteenth place which is occupied by Parārdha and the order is almost the same as given by Mahīdhara. The only difference is that Mahîdhara holds that Samudra multiplied by ten becomes one Madhya, which, when multiplied by ten, becomes one Anta or Antya. In the Jyotiḥśāstra here the order is reverse. It holds that Samudra multiplied by ten becomes Anta or Antya, which, when multiplied by ten. becomes Madhya.† This seems to be the view of Viṣṇupurāṇa also.‡

But Dhanañjaya Bhaṭṭa, a commentator on Jyotiḥśāstra, holds a different view. According to him it is the thirty-second place which Parārdha occupies in the order of numeral notations§. Thus the order is as follows :—

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* अत्रैकादिपरार्धपर्यन्तैः शब्दैरुत्तरोत्तरं दशगुणिता संख्योच्यते— Mahīdhara Bhāṣya on Ibid.

एवमकाप्रभृति दशासंख्यागुणितं परार्धपर्यन्तं पूर्वोक्तसंख्याविशेषसमुच्चितं वर्धमानसंख्येयनिष्ठं संख्याजातमित्यादि—Ubaṭa Bhāṣya.

† Vide Līlāvatī of Bhāskarācarya. Saṅkhyāparimāṇam of Keśava Miśra, the great Smṛtikāra pp. 1-2 Darbhangi Ed. śaka 1825.

‡ Quoted by Keśava Miśra.

§ Ibid.

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Eka = 1
Daśa = 10
Śata = 100
Sahaśra = 1000
Ayuta = 1000,0
Lakṣa = 1000,00
Daśalakṣa = 1000,000
Koṭi = 1000,000,0
Daca Koṭi = 1000,000,00
Cata Koṭi = 1000,000,000
Arbuda = 1000,000,000,0
Abja = 1000,000,000,00
Kkarva = 1000,000,000,000
Mahākharva = 1000,000,000,000,0
Padma = 1000,000,000,000,00
Antya = 1000,000,000,000,000
Mahāpadma = 1000,000,000,000,000,0.
Mahācā = 1000,000,000,000,000,00
Śaṅkha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000
Mahāśaṅkha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,0
Kṣiti = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,00
Mahākṣiti = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000
Kṣobha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
Mahākṣobha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
Nīdhi = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000 000
Mahānidhi = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
Samudra = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
Puṣkara = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000
Acintya = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
Amita = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
Anauta = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000
Parārdha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0

Keśava Miśra says that in the Bālabhū aṇa, which is

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a work on Jyotih śāstra, in place of Antya, the sixteenth place, we have śaṅku .* This Bālabhūṣaṇa is attributed to one Chaṇḍeśvara. †

Lastly, we find that Agnipurāṇa differs from all the above and holds that it is the sixteenth place which is occupied by Parārdha. Thus it enumerates the notations in the following order :—‡

Eka = 1
Daśa = 10
Śata = 100
Sahasra = 1000
Ayuta = 1000,0
Niyuta = 1000,00
Prayuta = 1000,000
Koṭi = 1000,000,0
Arbuda = 1000,000,00
Vṛnda = 1000,000,000
Kharva = 1000,000,000,0
Nīkharva = 1000,000,000,00
Śaṅkha = 1000,000,000,000
Padma = 1000,000,000,000,0
Samudra = 1000,000,000,000,00
Parārdha = 1000,000,000,000,000.

This entire treatment leaves us in dark as to the exact value of Parārdha. There seems to be altogether independent interaretations of it. Not only are we unable to fix the place of Parārdha but we find it is equally difficult to

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* Saṅkhyāparimāṇa p. 2

† Ibid p. 7, where it is said 'बालभूषणे चण्डेश्वरः' Is this the same Chaṇḍeśvara as the writer of the Ratnākaras ?

‡ Ibid pp. 2.

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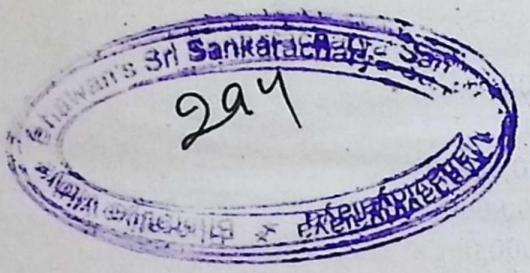
know exactly what the terms denote after Prayuta upto which they all agree.

Not finding myself any reasonable solution of the figure, I have put it here as I found it in the various places, so that the attention of the scholars may be drawn towards this problem and a good solution arrived at.



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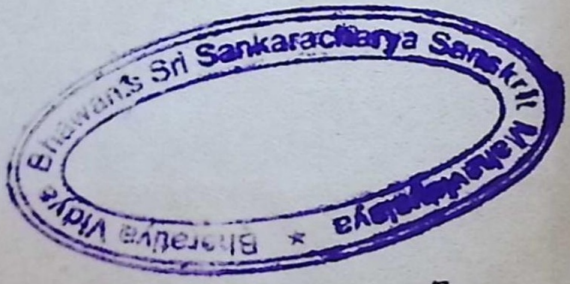

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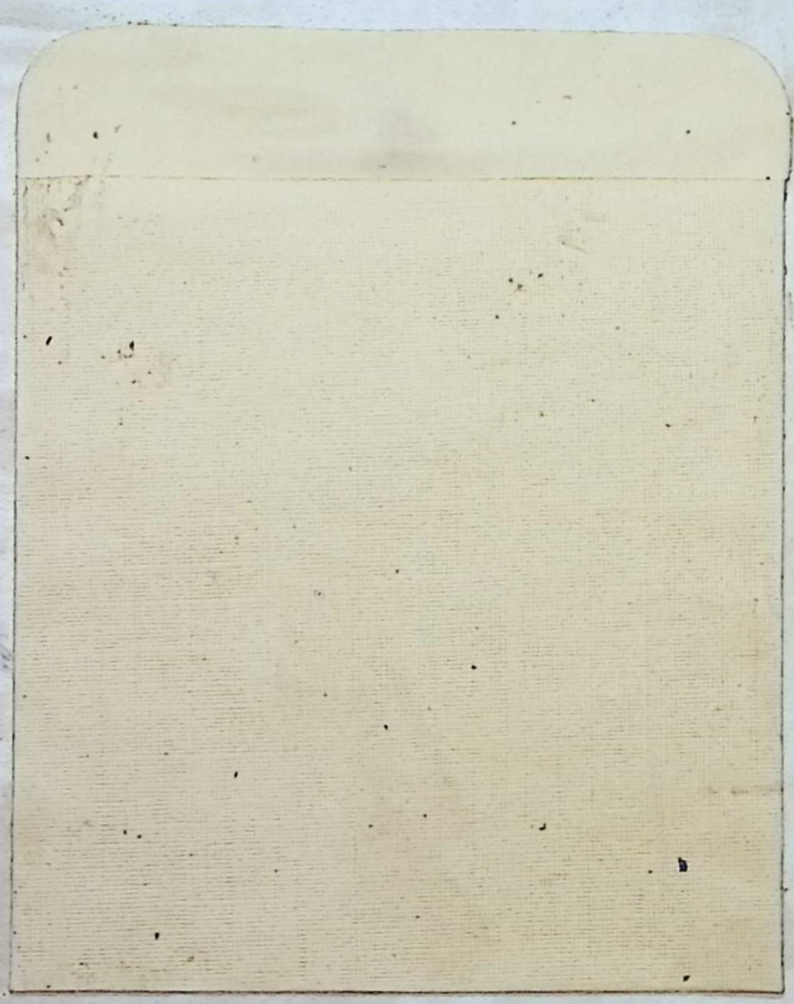

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